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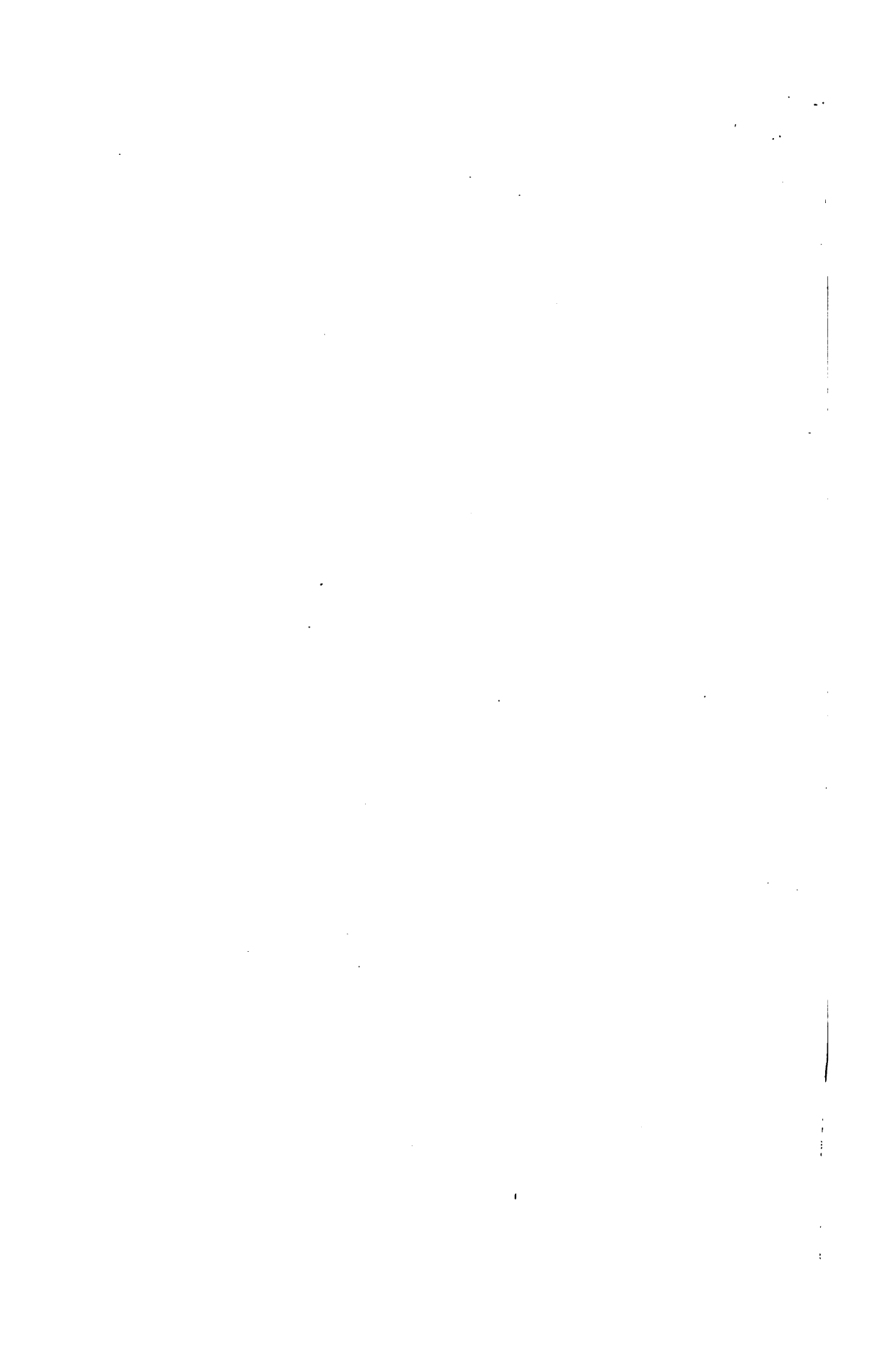
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MDCCCLVIII



VOL. XXVI.

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ILLIAM DHÔNE
AND
THE MANX REBELLION
1651

ILLIAM DHÔNE
AND
THE MANX REBELLION
1651

RECORDS AND PROCEEDINGS
RELATING TO THE CASE OF
WILLIAM CHRISTIAN OF RONALDSWAY
RECEIVER-GENERAL OF THE ISLE OF MAN
Who was Shot for Treason at Hango Hill, 2d January 1662-3

WITH COPIES OF THE VARIOUS
DEPOSITIONS PRESERVED IN THE ROLLS OFFICE, CASTLETOWN
AND OTHER DOCUMENTS CONNECTED THEREWITH

*WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTICE RELATING TO THE
TIME OF THE REBELLION
1643-1663*

By WILLIAM HARRISON, Esq.
AUTHOR OF 'BIBLIOTHECA MONENSIS,' ETC.

DOUGLAS, ISLE OF MAN
PRINTED FOR THE MANX SOCIETY
MDCCCLXXVII

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PREFACE.

91 IT is somewhat singular that various writers who have thought proper to allude to the case of William Christian of Ronaldsway, Receiver-General of the Isle of Man, did not consider it necessary to refer to the Depositions deposited in the Rolls Office, Castletown, in order to ascertain the facts therein recorded, as to the actions and motives of various persons connected with *The Rising*, in 1651, against the authority of James, 7th Earl of Derby, the supreme Lord of the Island, and that of his noble Countess, Charlotte de la Tremouille, during his absence from the Island, when he went to assist Charles II. in his last fatal struggle for the recovery of his throne. The writer of *Historical Notices* has indeed referred to them in such a way as suited his own view of the case, betraying much ignorance of the laws and customs of the Isle of Man; a copy of this pamphlet was forwarded to Sir Walter Scott, by John Christian of Milntown, one of the Deemsters, complaining of the treatment one of his ancestors had received at his hands, which drew from

Sir Walter, in the Introduction to the next edition of *Peveril of the Peak*, a vindication from the charge of what the Deemster complained of in his letter to him, and says "what Mr. Christian remarks about that Edward Christian, described in the tale as the brother of the gentleman executed, was a mere creature of the imagination, and he was not aware that such a person had existed."

History and Fiction appear to be so blended together that it is difficult to separate the one from the other, in order to know what is true and what is false. As time rolls on, Fiction often establishes its place more firmly in the minds of the multitude who will not take the trouble to investigate for themselves, merely because it is more attractive and alluring than the dry, and in many cases, uninteresting detail of History. Many causes conduce to this result, the bias which those connected with a particular case may have, either in the fact or otherwise of the incident recorded, leads them to relate the circumstance in a far different manner than the actual fact would justify, when it comes to be fully investigated in all its bearings.

The case of William Christian appears to have been one of these; his career was not devoid of some portion of romance, and as such, it especially struck the fancy of Sir Walter Scott, whose attention had

been called to it by his younger brother, Thomas Scott, who, during his residence in the Isle of Man, had collected some papers connected with Christian, which he placed in his brother's hands, the most remarkable of which Sir Walter Scott says, "remained engraved on his memory," and became embodied in his romance of *Peveril of the Peak*. On its appearance it created a lively interest in the Island, and prompted enquiry as to what were really the facts connected with the history of one or two of the characters depicted in that romance. As may be supposed, it revived much of the interest that had formerly been felt in the fate of William Dhoan as to the justice or otherwise of his sentence. It called forth animadversions according to the varied feelings, as they happened to be connected with the sufferer, or as they looked back, as Sir Walter remarks, "with the eyes of favour upon the Cavaliers or Roundheads of those contentious days."¹

Fiction, as has been observed, often usurps the

¹ "All the attempts that have been made to depict William Christian as an amiable and justifiable character have been far from overturning the antecedent presumption of his moral and political guilt. The character which he bears with his countrymen of the present day is perhaps more indebted for its favourable hue to some existing records in rhyme, expressive, it may be, of the momentary feelings of popular commiseration at his fate than to any genuine qualities of head and heart which could claim a merited sympathy in the affections of his countrymen."—Train's *Isle of Man*, vol. i. p. 213, 1845.

place of fact, this is fully exemplified in the case of "Fenella," mentioned in the before-named romance. Among the thousands who annually visit Peel Castle and enquire for the sally-port from whence she is said to have made her escape, scarce one enquires for the Tower in which the Earl of Warwick was actually confined in. This sally-port being now popularly known as "Fenella's."

Much interest is however taken at the present day in the publication of Historical documents contained in the Public Record Office as well as in the private archives of families who have so liberally thrown them open for investigation, thereby clearing up many distorted or doubtful cases of general history. The publication of the various depositions, and the proceedings connected with the case, now for the first time printed, will, there is little doubt, place this episode of one portion of this disturbed period in the Isle of Man in its proper light, as these documents thus brought forward, without comment from the editor, will speak for themselves.

It was intended to print the petition of Christian's wife, alluded to in the Lieutenant-Governor's Order for Sentence of Death (Document, No. ix. p. 34), but on making application to Mr. James Kewley, at the Rolls Office, he says it cannot be found.

A portrait of William Christian was long retained

in the family of Watterson of Balnahow, Rushen. He is represented as dressed in a green coat, without collar, after the fashion of those puritanic times, with the head in a close wig. The countenance is youthful, and well-looking, very unlike the expression of foreboding melancholy. It was presented by one of the family of Watterson to the late Mr. Oswald, surgeon, Douglas, and by him given to Miss Ann Thomas, who placed it in the hands of Dr. Nelson of Douglas, where it at present remains.

Some explanation is due to the Members of the Manx Society for the length of time these documents relating to Illiam Dhôan have been withheld, for, on the formation of the Society in 1858, they were among the first that were proposed to be issued. The late Mr. James Burman undertook to have them copied, and had made considerable progress with his work when death put a period to his existence in 1864. His executors reported that his manuscripts relating to this matter could nowhere be found, but that it was the intention of Mr. James Gell, with the assistance of Mr. J. F. Gill, the acting executor, to print the text, with notes, explanatory of the mode of trial, &c. Various allusions have been made as to their progress, which will be found in the Annual Reports printed in the Society's Series.

In the year 1870, a number of documents con-

nected with Christian's case were placed in the editor's hands, when he took an early opportunity of consulting with Mr. James Gell, the Attorney-General, respecting them. It was then arranged that, as his time was so fully occupied with public matters that prevented him from having that leisure to devote to the work which he could have wished, he would be glad if the present editor would undertake to prepare the documents for the press. Accordingly, such was done, and a preface and introductory notice prepared, which were placed in the hands of a learned gentleman for his opinion and revisal. After many and repeated applications since that time for these papers to be returned, but without avail, the editor had no alternative but again to set to work, and at considerable expense and labour, procure copies of the various documents, and again to re-write an introductory notice, which he fears is not so lucid as that which he had previously prepared.

The editor regrets, accordingly, having to make this statement to the Members of the Manx Society as accounting for the cause of so much delay taking place before these documents are placed in their hands; the reason is best known to those who have to this day retained them.

The editor has considered it necessary to prefix a few remarks connected with the time of the Rebellion (which might have been amplified to a much greater

extent), to make the general reader acquainted with the events of that distracted period. Many of these documents are printed for the first time, to which others have been added, from various sources, in order to arrive at a just estimate of the guilt or otherwise of those implicated in the transactions of that day, which the editor trusts will be satisfactory to the Members of the Manx Society.

WILLIAM HARRISON.

ROCK MOUNT, *14th February* 1877.



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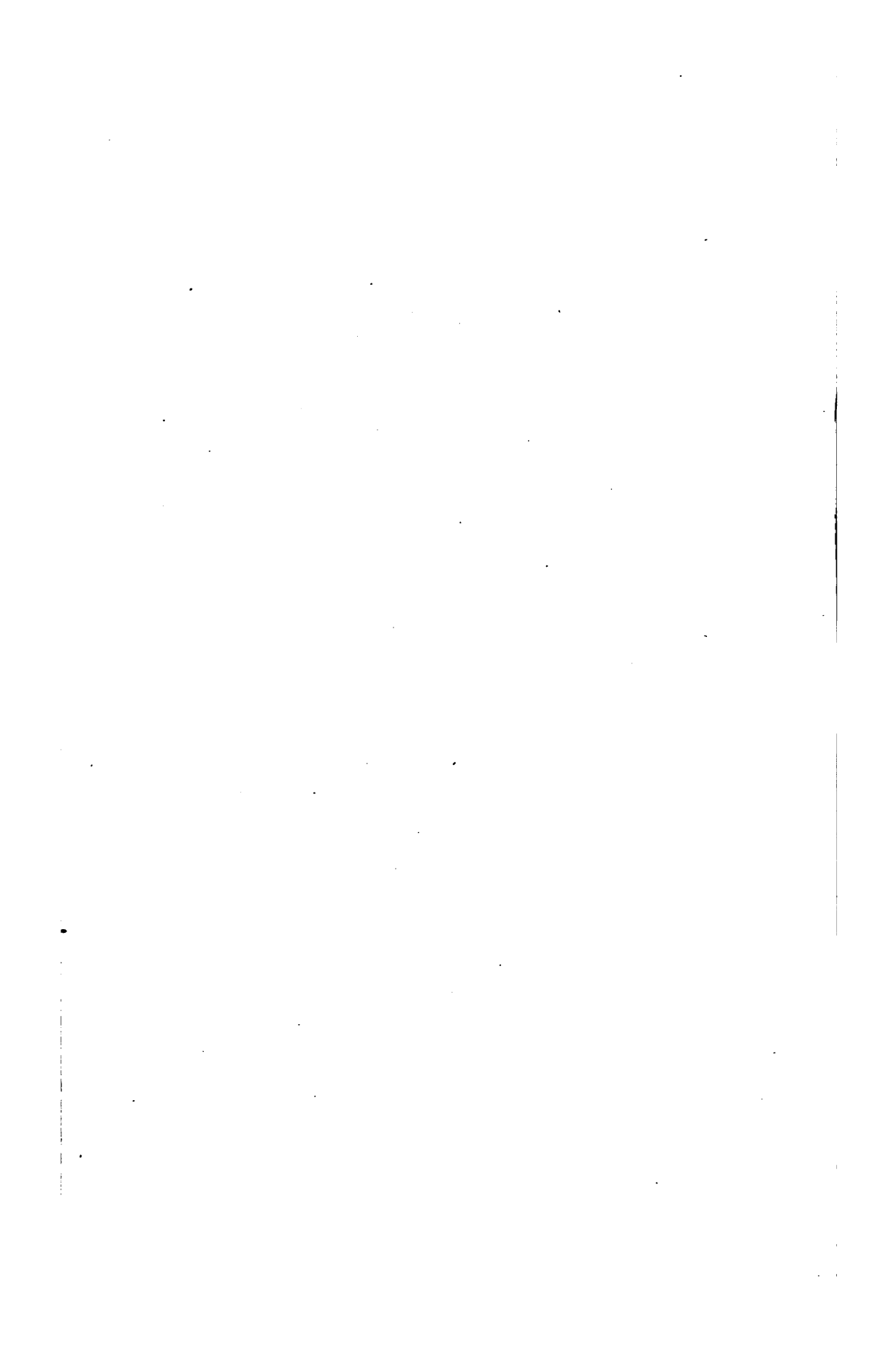
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INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

RELATIVE TO THE TIME OF THE REBELLION,
1643-1663.

"REBELLION being a most heinous sinne against God, calling for justice here on earth," as Charles, Earl of Derby observes in his mandate for the trial of William Christian of Ronaldsway (Document, No. i. p. 1), appears to have been realised by the fate which attended that personage.

Upon the breaking out of the Rebellion in England, it would have been singular if the Isle of Man, situated as it is in the midst of the surrounding countries, had not felt the baneful effects of such a scourge, when, as the author of *Hudibras* truly remarked:—

" . . . civil dudgeon first grew high,
And men fell out they knew not why ;"

and that there should not have been found some in the Island so dissatisfied as to be ready to join in the turmoil.

Manxmen hitherto had been proverbial for their loyalty, and we find a record of this from Mr. William Blundell of Crosby, Lancashire, who had himself been a firm supporter of King Charles, as also a great sufferer in his own estate, who thus speaks of the general loyalty of the Manx people prior to this outbreak:—"Manxmen have ever been constant in their loyalty to England, for when Henry VIII., anno 1541, in the league he made with Charles V. in the 7th article agreed upon, that if the enemy, the French king, should fall

on any of his islands, or the Isle of Man in particular, the Emperor should send aid for such a number of foot as can be paid, for 700 crowns a day. This setteth forth the constant loyalty of the Manxmen in an eminent degree, that we read not in any age that ever they attempted to infest or to make any depredations upon any part of England. Yea, their loyalty hath much demonstrated itself in its dutiful perseverance to the late King Charles I., for when all his three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland had cast off their allegiance and openly rebelled against him, this Island of Man not only persisted in its obedience unto him, but with its loyal Lord in person, assisted his son with a considerable supply.”¹

Notwithstanding this testimony as to their general loyalty to the Crown of England, such was the infatuation of the time that designing men helped to add fuel to the flame. Various were the reasons that tended to this; the growing dissatisfaction at the nature of the tenure of their lands, and, among others, when James, the seventh Earl of Derby, Lord of the Island, considered it necessary to visit his dominion in 1643 to arrange matters connected with its internal affairs, having received an intimation of a probable revolt, as some had already committed various excesses and acts of insubordination against the governor's authority, he was accompanied by a number of gentlemen, his retainers, and some troops; the latter was placed at free quarters upon the inhabitants, which appears to have given much dissatisfaction. One of the chief instigators in these *murmurings* seems to have been Edward Christian of Ballakilly, a younger son of William Christian of Knockrushen, a distant relative of William Christian the Receiver. He was made Governor of the Isle of Man in 1628, and held the office till 1633. Having fallen out of favour with the Earl of

¹ Manx Society's Series, Vol. XXV. p. 10, 1876.

Derby, he began secretly to plot the overthrow of the lord's power, and was brought to trial in 1643, and sentenced to be imprisoned in Peel Castle, and pay a fine of one thousand marks. He was released by Lord Fairfax, and again imprisoned by Charles, Earl of Derby, and he ultimately died there in January 1661.

The Earl's opportune arrival in the Island tended, with the judicious aid of his Lieutenant-Governor Greenhalgh,¹ to appease the people for a time.

Before leaving England the Earl caused ample supplies of warlike stores to be provided for his house at Lathom in Lancashire, which his heroic Countess, Charlotte de la Tremouille, so gallantly and bravely defended for two years against all the contrivance and skill of the Parliamentary Army, commanded by Colonel Rigby.²

Having in some degree restored tranquillity amongst his people in the Island, the Earl, leaving the further care of it to the able management of his Lieutenant, Greenhalgh, repaired again to England in 1644, in order to relieve his Countess and family, then besieged in Lathom House, and succeeded, with the assistance of Prince Rupert, in compelling Rigby to raise the siege, who had conducted it with every degree of insult to the Countess, and afterwards attacked him at Bolton, when Rigby was put to flight after a severe conflict.

Shortly after, the Earl retired with his Countess and

¹ Captain John Greenhalgh of Brandlesholme, in the parish of Bury-Lancashire, Governor of the Isle of Man, 1640. Buried at Malew, 19th September 1651. His character is drawn most favourably in Lord Derby's Memoir addressed to his son. See Peck, *Des. Our.*, lib. xi. p. 25, and Manx Society, Vol. III. John Greenhalgh was born in 1597, and married Alice, daughter of the Rev. Wm. Massey, B.D., rector of Wimslow, Co. Chester.

² Alexander Rigby of Preston, Esq., bred to the law, afterwards a most active colonel in the service of Parliament. He was at the siege of Lathom, and defeated at Bolton by Rupert.

family to the Isle of Man, his English estates having been confiscated by the Parliament. Here he remained in comparative retirement, placing the Island in a state of defence; and in 1648 built at Ramsey a fort, named "Fort Royal," to protect the town from foreign enemies.

It was during this time that the Earl received an offer from General Ireton, on behalf of the Parliament, that if he would surrender the Island to them his whole estate should be restored. His reply is characteristic and spirited, and worthy of preservation in this account, although it has been repeatedly printed.

Lord Derby's letter to Commissary-General Ireton, in answer to offers made by him from the Parliament of his whole estate, if he would surrender the Isle of Man to them.¹

Castletown, July 12, 1649.

Sir—I received your letter with indignation and scorn, and return you this answer:—That I cannot but wonder whence you should gather any hopes from me that I should, like you, prove treacherous to my sovereign, since you cannot but be sensible of my former actings in his late Majesty's service; from which principles of loyalty I am no whit departed. I scorn your proffers, disdain your favour, and abhor your treason, and am so far from delivering up this Island to your advantage that I will keep it to the utmost of my power and your destruction. Take this for your final answer, and forbear any further solicitations, for if you trouble me with any more messages on this occasion I will burn the paper and hang the bearer. This is the immutable resolution, and shall be the undoubted practice of him who accounts it his chiefest glory to be His Majesty's most loyal and obedient servant,

DERBY.

¹ Seacome's *History of the House of Stanley*.

In 1651 King Charles II., resolving to march from Scotland into England, sent an express to the Isle of Man for the Earl of Derby to meet him in Lancashire. The Earl accordingly, mustering his retainers, left the Island in August, accompanied by Captain Greenhalgh, his Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Thomas Tyldesley,¹ with other adherents, and a company of 300 volunteers. Before he reached the royal army he was attacked near Wigan, on the 25th August, by a squadron of the Parliamentary troops under Colonel Lilburne, and, after a gallant defence, was defeated with great loss, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. Although severely wounded, he proceeded to Worcester, where he was present during that engagement.

Before leaving the Island the Earl empowered his Countess, by a commission, to act for him in every respect during his absence (Document, No. xxxii. p. 105). Sir Philip Musgrave² was left governor of the Island, Sir Thomas Armstrong governor of Rushen Castle, and his brother governor of Peel Castle. The insular infantry was placed under the command of William Christian, Illiam Dhôan, who had held the office of Receiver-General since 1648, a position of great trust and responsibility, in which large sums of money passed

¹ Sir Thomas Tyldesley, Knight, was a royalist major-general, and representative of a younger branch of the Tyldesleys of Tyldesley, Lancashire. He is honourably commemorated by Clarendon for his zeal to the royal cause. He met with his death on the battle-field in Wigan Lane, where a pillar is erected to his memory by his "grateful cornet, Alexander Rigby." He was interred in the north chancel of the church of Leigh, where the Earl of Derby, seven weeks afterwards, on his way to execution at Bolton, made an unavailing request to visit his grave. A fine portrait of him is given in Baines' *Lancashire*, from an original painting at Hulton Hall.

² Sir Philip Musgrave, of Eden Hall, in Westmoreland, Baronet, a royalist colonel and Governor of Carlisle. He was sworn in Governor of the Isle of Man on the death of John Greenhalgh, 19th September 1651. He was raised to the peerage as Baron Musgrave, but never took out the patent. He died in 1678, aged 70.

through his hands. He was the third son of Deemster Ewan Christian of Milntown, and was born 14th April 1608. He had been from infancy a protégé of the House of Stanley, and the Earl of Derby had such confidence in his fidelity and attachment to his family that he commended his noble Countess and their three children, then on the Island, to his especial guardianship. How he discharged this trust will best be seen on reference to the depositions made by various parties in 1662, hereafter printed from the original records in the Rolls Office, Castletown.

After the battle at Worcester the Earl, returning into Lancashire, was intercepted by a detachment of the Parliament army, and surrendered to Captain Oliver Edge, a Lancashire man, upon *quarter for life*, which plea, upon his trial at Chester, was refused by his personal enemies Rigby and Birch, when he was taken to Bolton, the scene of Rigby's defeat, and unjustly beheaded there on the 15th October 1651. Thus fell the great Earl of Derby, a martyr to the royal cause.¹ During the Earl's stay in Chester he addressed the following letter to his Countess in the Isle of Man:—

Lord Derby's Last Letter to his Lady.²

Chester, October 12, 1651.

I have heretofore sent you comfortable lines, but, alas, I have now no word of comfort, saving to our last and best refuge, which is Almighty God, to whose will we must

¹ Under the portrait of the Earl is affixed the following lines:—

“While Stanley's life-like face you scan,
You recognise the King of Man;
But learn his death from history's pen,
And then you see the King of Men.”

His son Charles reverently attended upon his father's remains, conveyed them after the execution to Sir Roger Bradshaigh's of Haigh Hall, Wigan, and on the following day deposited them in the family vault at Ormskirk.

² Seacombe's *History of the House of Stanley*.

submit; and when we consider how he hath disposed of these nations and the government thereof, we have no more to do but to lay our hands upon our mouths, judging ourselves, and acknowledging our sins, joined with others, to have been the cause of these miseries, and to call on Him with tears for mercy.

The governor of this place, Colonel Duckenfield,¹ is general of the forces which are going now against the Isle of Man, and however you might do for the present, in time it would be grievous and troublesome to resist, especially those that at this hour command three nations; wherefore my advice, notwithstanding my great affection to that place is, that you would make conditions for yourself, children, servants, and people there, and such as came over with me, to the end you may go to some place of rest where you may not be concerned in war; and taking thought of your poor children, you may in some sort provide for them; then prepare yourself to come to your friends above, in that blessed place where bliss is, and no mingling of opinions.

I conjure you, my dearest heart, by all those graces which God hath given you, that you exercise your patience in this great and strange trial. If harm come to you, then I am dead indeed, and until then I shall live in you, who are truly the best part of myself. When there is no such as I in being, then look upon yourself and my poor children, then take comfort, and God will bless you.

¹ Colonel Robert Duckenfield of Duckenfield, Cheshire, Parliamentary Colonel, Governor of Chester, etc., 1651, was one of the commissioners appointed by a new ordinance for erecting a High Court of Justice for the trial of King Charles, which was presented to the House of Commons on the 4th January 1649, was read a first, second, and third time, assented to, and passed the same day, but he took no part in the subsequent proceedings, never having attended any of the days of trial nor signed the warrant for his execution. He was interred in the graveyard of Denton Chapel, about six miles east of Manchester, September 21st, 1689, undistinguished by monument or sepulchral inscription. He was Governor of the Isle of Man in 1651-52.

I acknowledge the great goodness of God to have given me such a wife as you : so great an honour to my family, so excellent a companion to me, so pious, so much of all that can be said of good, I must confess it impossible to say enough thereof. I ask God pardon with all my soul, that I have not been enough thankful for so great a benefit, and when I have done anything at any time that might justly offend you, with joined hands I also ask your pardon.

I have no more to say to you at this time, than my prayers for the Almighty's blessing to you, my dear Mall, and Ned, and Billy. Amen. Sweet Jesus.

DERBY.

Upon receiving this letter the Countess of Derby considered it prudent to comply with the Earl's advice, and accordingly despatched Mr. Broyden her servant, with letters to Colonel Duckenfield, the Commander in Chief appointed for the expedition against the Island, treating about its rendition upon condition that the Earl might be released. But alas ! it was too late, for the Earl had been beheaded some few days before its receipt.¹ (Document, No. xxix. p. 64.)

An insinuation, extensively circulated in the Island, that Lady Derby was making secret terms for herself and family, and intended to sell the country for 2d. or 3d., as we find mentioned by several of those who were examined in 1662. This cry was no doubt raised to inflame the minds of the people to induce them to join in the proposed rising. The Countess of Derby had proved herself too noble-minded to descend to such an act, for it is seen that, when hard pressed by Colonel Duckenfield, the terms she sent him were more like

¹ Blackstone is quite correct in saying that the trial of Charles I. was unparalleled ; the same may be said of the Earl of Derby, after the promise of Captain Edge of *quarter for life*.

those of a conqueror, although she had afterwards to submit to others.

The Rebellion in England gave rise to a multitude of tracts of every size and of various denominations, from 1640 to 1660. Many of these were written with great talent, while others were only the vehicle of party abuse, and being devoted to political purposes, they soon became a party nuisance. Their favourite name was *Mercurius*, with another name to indicate the party from which it emanated, as *Mercurius Rusticus*, *Mercurius Britannicus*, *Mercurius Politicus*, *A Perfect Diurnall*, with a host of others, which only served to inflame the temper of men to a greater fierceness, and give a keener edge to the sharpness of civil discord. From one of these political papers is given an account of what took place in the Isle of Man from a source quite independent of insular bias, written by one on the Parliamentary side, and printed under the sanction of the Secretary of the army of the Commonwealth. (Document, No. xxix. p. 63.)

This account confirms Hugh Moore's deposition that he told the commander he was employed by Mr. Receiver Christian, and that the army should receive no opposition to their landing,—that they had already taken possession of the various forts; but having no papers to show to assure them of the truth of his statement, Major Fox was sent on shore with Mr. Moore, who on his return confirmed the truth of Moore's statement.

It appears this Major Fox, a Lancashire gentleman,¹ had been for some time a prisoner in the Isle of Man, by order of the Earl of Derby, and that he joined Colonel Duckenfield at Beaumoris, on the 20th August, at the same time that Mr. Broyden delivered the Countess of Derby's letter to

¹ The Foxes of the Rhodes, in Prestwich, were a respectable family, and for many generations tenants of Rhodes, under the Derby family; this Major Fox was most probably one of the same family.

treat for the Earl to be released. He was the bearer of a letter to Colonel Duckenfield from the Receiver, William Christian; and from the depositions it appears that Christian had been in communication previous to this with Major Fox, from whom he had received a commission from the States, empowering him, the said Christian, to raise the country for the Parliament.

The progress of the expedition will be found detailed in *Mercurius Politicus*. (Document, No. xxix. p. 63-76.)

Upon the appearance of their ships off Ramsey, a delegated committee met the commander on board, and the surrender of the Island to the Parliamentary forces was completed on the 2d November 1651, the committee alone stipulating that the inhabitants should be guaranteed the enjoyment of their laws and liberties. Mr. Hume states in his History that the Countess "retained the glory of being the last person in the three kingdoms, and in all the dependent dominions, who submitted to the victorious commonwealth." On the 11th November, the articles made upon the rendition of the Island, and the Castles therein, were confirmed by the Parliament. (Document, No. xxx. p. 78.)

It appears the Countess of Derby was not aware of the death of her Lord until she received Colonel Duckenfield's letter dated "Castletown, 29th October 1651." Communication with the Island was carried on with difficulty, and news travelled slowly. When called upon by this letter to surrender the Isle of Man, she replied, "I hold it by commission from my Lord, and I will not give it up without orders from him, being obliged by my duty to obey the instructions of my husband."

There is no truth in the statement made by Seacome, Rolt, and others, that the Countess was kept long confined in Castle Rushen by order of Receiver Christian. Her two daughters, Catherine and Amelia, had previously been con-

fined at Liverpool, by Colonel Birch the governor. On the 8th June 1650, Lady Derby writes to her sister-in-law. "Since my last letter I have received news of your nieces in England, which afflicts me not a little; and though I can think of nothing to relieve them, I hope to find some comfort in telling you my troubles, for I know you will share, and if possible, remedy them. More than two years ago, when I was in England, and intending to come here, I was advised, with some show of reason, to send for your two nieces, Catherine and Amelia, and to leave them at Knowsley during my absence, that they might keep possession of the house and receive the income granted to the children of delinquents, for so they call us, and which was the fifth part of the revenue of their father's estates. Before I sent for them from this place, I procured passports from the Parliament and the general (Sir Thomas Fairfax), and his protection for my daughters, and they have been there two whole years without any one ever having disturbed either them or their people. But about three weeks ago, a man of the name of Birch,¹ the governor of a small town called Liverpool, took them prisoners, and confined them in the said town, where they are now in custody with their attendants. No reason is given for this, but we hear it is because they are thought to be too much liked, and that people were beginning to make application to the Parliament in the hope that their father might come to terms, of which I see no chance."²

Upon the rendition of Castle Rushen the Countess and her children were delivered into the hands of the Parliamentary Commissioners. "These, madam, are the conditions under which Captain Christian has delivered up the

¹ Thomas Birch of Birch, in the parish of Manchester, a colonel of militia, Governor of Liverpool, and M.P. for that borough. The Council of State approved of this detention, for the alleged cause of Lord Derby holding Man against the Parliament.

² *Lady of Lathom*. By Madame Guizot de Witt. London, 1869, p. 150.

Island," said Birch, ironically, offering Lady Derby a paper, in which no mention was made of her rights nor of her son's rights over this hereditary kingdom of the Derbys; glancing at it, she said, with her accustomed courage, "No place is mentioned here but the Isle of Man; the neighbouring Islands have not surrendered: permit me to retire to Peel Castle with my children, that I may rest there until I can pass over into France or Holland, and find a place to lay my head."¹

By the 7th article, agreed upon on the 31st October 1651, for the surrendering of Castle Rushen and Peel, the Countess of Derby, with her children and servants were to have liberty to pass over to England, and from thence to Holland or France if she pleased. This was accomplished in the following December, when a suitable vessel had been procured.

In writing to her sister, dated London, 25th March 1652, she says, "I have lost all my personal property, having had only 400 crowns worth of silver plate allowed me to bring me here from the Isle of Man, and nothing more since that."² Madame de Witt remarks on the said imprisonment, "So far from this being the case, we see, from the indisputable evidence of her own letters, that although poor, and deprived of all the luxuries natural to her rank, she was at least free, living in London, demanding justice."³

Lady Derby passed her time alternately in London and Knowsley, at which latter place she died on the 31st March 1663-4, and was interred at Ormskirk, Lancashire. She was the daughter of Claude de la Tremouille, Duke of Thouars, and Lady Charlotte his wife, daughter of William, first Prince of Orange.

The Long Parliament, commonly styled the *Rump*, passed

¹ *Lady of Lathom*, p. 206.

² *Ibid.* p. 209.

³ *Ibid.* p. 215.

an Act on the 20th September 1649,¹ conferring the Island on Lord Fairfax, although the Earl of Derby was then in possession, and continued so until his death in 1651.

Upon the surrender of the Island in November 1651, aided in a great measure by treachery, as will be seen by the depositions taken at Castle Rushen in 1662, hereafter given, Colonel Duckenfield, the military commander of the expedition against the Island, assumed the governorship, issued various proclamations, appointed Captain Samuel Smith,² Deputy-Governor, and continued to govern the Island in the name of the Commonwealth of England, as appears from the House of Commons' Journals, 1651, and the *Liber Scaccar*, 1652, in the Rolls Office, Castletown.

Thomas, Lord Fairfax, asserted his right under the Act of Parliament before mentioned, and appointed James Chaloner, William Steane, and J. Rushworth, commissioners, to enquire into his estate in the Island, with the yearly value thereof. These commissioners deputed Captains Eaton and Beale, to make enquiries, and to give notice to the tenants of his lordship's right thereto, as follows:—*Liber Scaccar*, 1652.

¹ For this Act of Parliament, conferring the Isle of Man on Lord Fairfax, most diligent and determined search has been made but without discovering it. A good many Acts passed under the Protectorate have been lost sight of. Some of them may be discoverable among the sacksful of uncalendered papers of the Commonwealth time. These are not at the Public Record Office, but are now at Woolwich, in a state of complete chaos, and utterly inaccessible. The officials at the Record Office have made elaborate search, and Mrs. Green, the compiler of Calendars of State Papers, knows nothing of it. The newspapers of 1649 contain no notice of it. Scobell's collection of Commonwealth Statutes has no Act of the year 1649 passed later than March. A volume of King's Pamphlets, consisting of Statutes passed in the years 1648 and 1649, contains several Statutes passed on the 20th September 1649, but not one concerning the Isle. The under-librarian of Lincoln's Inn says that library possesses no copy of the Act. Other sources have also been examined with the same result.

² Samuel Smith had been a member of the Court-Martial by which the Earl of Derby had been tried and condemned at Chester.

“Whereas the Parliam^t of England by their Act of the 20th of September, 1649, intituled, *An Act for settling Mannors, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments of the cleare yearly value of 4000^o upon Thomas Lord Fairfax the Captain-Generall of the forces of the Parliam^t of England*, Have invested the said Thomas Lord Fairfax with all that the Island, Castle Pele, and Isle of Man, situated and lying in the seas betwixt England and Ireland, with all Islands, Lordships, Piles, Castles, Monastery, Abbies, Priories, adiacent and belonging to the said Lordship of Man, and whitch late were the inheritance of James Earle of Derby, in as large and beneficiall a manner to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as the sayd James Earle of Derby had or might have enjoyed the same, We doe therefore in the right and behalfe of the sayd Thomas Lord Fairfax, and as intrusted by him, constitute and appoint you, by all good wayes and meanes, to enquier into the foresaid estate in the said Isle of Man, with the yearly vallue and profittes thereof, and to give notice to the respective tenants of the said Thomas Lord Fairfax his right thereto; the returne wherof we desier you to send unto us. Given under our hands the 4th off Desem. 1651.

“JAMES CHALONER.

“W^m. STEANE.

“JO. RUSHWORTH.

“To Captaine Eaton & Capt. Beale.”

The Parliament kept a military force in the Island, and made an allowance to the Governor as such, besides giving him the pay of a Captain. The monarchical form of government was continued as in the time of the former Lords of the Island. William Christian retained his post of Receiver-General under Lord Fairfax, but having got into arrears with the Exchequer, Commissioner Chaloner found it his duty to sequesterate his estates and imprison his

brother John, for aiding him in his escape from the Island. Captain Smith continued to act as Deputy-Governor until his death in June 1652, when the said Commissioners continued to act for Lord Fairfax, who does not appear to have ever visited the Island. James Chaloner was appointed Governor in 1658, and continued so until 1660. Lord Fairfax held the Island until the Restoration, 28th May, 1660.

The death of Oliver Cromwell, on the 3d September 1658, was a great blow to the Commonwealth of England, and however great had been his talent for governing, particularly in his military capacity for discipline, by which he had raised his army to a high state of efficiency, it was found that his son was sadly defective, and this, with the strife for supremacy amongst the various denominations, soon brought about that reaction for which many had been long desirous, a restoration to monarchy. Charles II. was brought to London with every demonstration of rejoicing, and was proclaimed King. In the Isle of Man he was proclaimed at "Peel Town at the cross, May 28, 1660; at Castletown, May 29; at Douglas Cross, May 30; and at Ramsey Cross, May 31, with shouting, shooting of muskets and ordnance, drinking of beer, with great rejoicing. The Governor, James Chaloner being at the said places, attended with the Officers, civil and spiritual; 24 Keys, the captains of parishes, and above 60 horse, besides the Officers in each Town aforesaid."

Entry in Malew Parish Register, 1660.

Soon after Charles, 8th Earl of Derby, had been reinstated in his "Kingdom of Man," he took measures to bring to justice those whom he considered had been instrumental in the betrayal of the trust reposed in them by the late Earl, his father, as also for insurrection against the Countess of Derby in 1651, at the time she was entrusted with the State

of Government of the Isle during the absence of the Earl. The mandate for the trial of William Christian of Ronalds-way will be found in Document No. I. as well as the various depositions taken preparatory to his trial, which was conducted in the usual manner, according to precedent from time immemorial, which will be seen in reference to various documents hereafter given.

The author of *Historical Notices* (Document xxxi. p. 83), makes some strong remarks upon the removal of various members of the House of Keys, to which body the Deemsters had applied for their advice. The removal of certain members of the Keys was mainly those who were deeply implicated in the rising, as will be seen on reference to the Depositions—viz., Ewan Curghie, Samuel Radcliffe, Dollin Clarke, William Gawne, Jo. Cayne, and Jo. Lace—Edward Christian being a near relative to the accused William Christian. By the Statute of 1422, it was given for law “that whosoever riseth against the Lieutenant he is a Traytor by our Law, for that is against the Lord’s prerogatives.” By the same Statute it was also given for law, “without the Lord’s will, none of the 24 Keys to be.” The election of the Keys, in place of those removed, would be after the manner that has been customary with that body, by sending in the names of two landed proprietors for the one removed, when the Lord or his Lieutenant selects one of them; so they are not the actual nominees of the Lord, for purposes of his own, as the author of the *Historical Notices* insinuates.

Christian refused to plead to the indictment, and on reference of this matter to the Deemsters and twenty-four Keys, they gave it as the law, that such a person is “deemed to bee at ye Lord’s mercy for body and goods at his hono^{rs} pleasure,” and “is to receive his doome and sentence for life or death as pleaseth the Govr^{rr} or Deputy Govr^{rr} of this

Isle to order such a malefactor unto." (Document, No. viii. p. 32.)

Christian was accordingly, on the 31st December 1662, sentenced to be shot to death at Hango Hill; which was carried into effect on the 2d January 1662-3. From the entry in the parish register of Malew, where his remains were buried in the chancel, it is stated he died "most penitently."

It will be observed by the speech which Christian made at the place of execution (Document, No. x. p. 37), he says, that after being set at liberty from the Fleet Prison in London where he had been confined upon an action of £20,000 (probably the amount which Commissioner Chaloner had thought it necessary to sequester his property for his defalcations with the Exchequer), he consulted with several gentlemen concerning the King's Act of Indemnity, and was told there was no doubt that it extended to the Isle of Man and all other places within his Majesty's dominions and countries. Relying on this advice he returned to the Island after an absence of near three years.

Upon Christian been arrested after his return to the Island, he petitioned the King and Privy Council for redress. (Document, No. xi. p. 41.) This was followed up by a petition from Ewan Christian, son of William Christian; and on the hearing of the case on the 5th August 1663, full restitution of the estates was to be made to the heir, with other matters. That the two Deemsters, Thomas Norris and Hugh Cannell, who had decreed Christian's death, were ordered to be committed and remain prisoners in the King's Bench, and to be proceeded against in the ordinary course of justice. Other parties that had been summoned to attend were ordered to be discharged from further restraint, etc. (Document, No. xxv., pp. 54-57.)

The defences made for the various members called before

the Privy Council on account of Christian's death, supported as they were by reference to the law of the Isle of Man, appear to have been received as a sufficient justification for their share in those proceedings. No further action was taken against the Deemsters or others, for after a while they were released and returned to the Island.

Ewan Curghey, Samuel Radcliffe, and John Cæsar, the gentlemen who had been exempted by the Earl of Derby's order on the 4th February 1662, from the general amnesty until they had given security for their future fidelity to the Lord of the Island, upon making due submission to the Earl had their estates restored to them, and received his gracious act of pardon.

At the Council held on the 5th August 1663, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, with the King's Counsel, gave it as their opinion, "That the Act of General Pardon and Indempnity did and ought to be understood to extend into the Isle of Man as well as into any other of His Majesty's Dominions and Plantations beyond the Seas. And that, being a Publique General Act of Parliament, it ought to have been taken notice of by the Judges in the Isle of Man."

This decision of the Privy Council is difficult to be reconciled with all previous Acts connected with the Isle of Man, for it has ever been an independent kingdom, and was never looked upon as a dominion, territory, or plantation beyond the seas at any time. Coke, in the 1st part of his *Institutes of the Laws of England*, observes, "the Isle of Man is no part of the kingdom, but a distinct territory of itself;" and again, in the 4th part of the same, he observes, "This Isle hath been an ancient kingdom, as it appeareth in l. 1. 7, in Calvin's Case, the King's writ runneth not in the Isle of Man, yet the King's commission extendeth thither for the redress of injustice and wrong; but the

commissioners must proceed according to law and justice of the Isle," an exact case in point with respect to Christian's trial. Again, in Wood's *Institute of the Laws of England*, it is stated, "the Isle of Man is no part of England, but a distinct territory of itself, and out of the power of our Chancery." Blackstone confirms this, and says, "the Isle of Man is a distinct territory from England, and is not governed by our laws; neither doth any Act of Parliament extend to it, unless it be particularly named therein." This is fully confirmed by an Act passed in 1729, the preamble of which contains the remarkable declaration and admission by Parliament, that to bind the Isle of Man it must be referred to by express name.

The Act of Pardon and Indemnity could not therefore be rightly considered to extend to the Isle of Man, not being mentioned therein. Persons in the Isle of Man might be guilty of treason against the Lord of the Isle independently of the Crown of England. If Christian was guilty at all, the charge against him was, treason against the Lord of the Island, not against the King of England.

It was no doubt the desire of King Charles, by this decision of his Privy Council, to extend his Act of Clemency as widely as possible, in order to quiet down the distracted state which his kingdom had been so long subjected to, for we hereafter find no further proceedings were taken, but all allowed quietly to return to their homes.

It is certain the execution of Christian made a deep impression upon the minds of the Islanders, and that has mainly been continued to a comparatively recent time by the ballad of "Illiam Dhôn." (Document, No. xxxiii. p. 107.) This has probably more than anything else been the means of perpetuating the remembrance of "Brown haired William" in the minds of the Manx peasantry. Such is the influence of a ballad, that well might the sage of old remark,

"if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." Some on the Island deny Christian's guilt altogether; but there are others who are so far of a different opinion that they only allow the execution to have been wrong in so far as he died by a military rather than a civil death.

The documents which are hereafter given, will be found to contain more correct information on this period of Manx history than has hitherto been published, and are given without comment, so that the reader may exercise his judgment as to the guilt or otherwise of the unfortunate William Christian, popularly known amongst his countryman as Iliam Dhôan.

Having now given a short history of matters connected with the period of the Rebellion in England and its extension to the Isle of Man, with various documents connected therewith, from which it will be seen that some of the most influential families in the Island were deeply implicated, in opposition to the Lord of the Isle, it is well to draw a veil over transactions that had convulsed society in every grade. After a lapse of more than 200 years there is little fear of wounding, by a record of these transactions, the feelings of representatives of families whose ancestors had taken an active part in those unhappy times, but that they will ever, as heretofore, continue to be truly loyal to the Crown of England.

W. H.



DOCUMENTS

FROM THE EXCHEQUER BOOK, ROLLS OFFICE,
AND OTHER SOURCES.

—◆—
No. I.

MANDATE of CHARLES EARL of DERBY for the Trial of
W^m. CHRISTIAN, Sept^r 12, 1662.

REBELLION being a most heinous sinne against God calling for justice here on earth without which that place where it is committed may well be said to be polluted and by a fitting sacrifice ought to be purified by the blood of the most heinously guilty: But when a Rebellion receives this further aggravation as to be notoriously evident to be very instrumentall in the death of the Lord of that land: And withall considering how much I am concerned soe farr forth as I may to revenge a father's bloud: I take it to be a duty incumbent upon me from all these considerations strictly to charge and command you (w^{ch} I doe by these presents) that forthwith upon sight hereof you proceed against William Christian of Ronasway (sometimes recedent of my Island of Mann) for all his illegall actions and Rebellions at or before the yeare of our Lord one thousand sixe hundred fifty and one, or at any time since, and that he be proceeded against according to the Lawes of that my Island: And I recommend it to your care to see that this be speedely and effectually performed, And now withall calling to minde that this may possibly allarum, disturbe and disquiet the minds of

many in that my Island which by reason of the iniquity of these Late times may have been constrain'd to doe some things w^{ch} may have rendered them upon a strict desquisition liable to some inconveniencies in the severe eye of the Law; I do therefore in this place thinke it most fitt (that mercy & judgement may goe together hand in hand) to comand you to publish & declare that from hence forward none in that my Island of Mann shal be molested either in life or estate for any thing they shall have done, or committed concerning that, or any other Rebellion or Insurrection in the said Island, except such as you shall finde to be very notoriously guilty with the Abovesaid William Christian of Ronasway in his Rebellion, & Insurrection in the year of our Lord God one thousand sixe hundred fifty and foure who are to be proceeded against according to the Lawes of that my Island before the first of May next w^{ch} shal be in the year of our Lord One thousand sixe hundred sixty & three, after w^{ch} day it shall not be lawfull to proceed against any person whatsover the said William Christian of Ranusway only excepted, given under my hand and seale at Lathom the twelfth day of September in the year of our Lord God one thousand sixe hundred sixty and two. DERBY.

To all my Officers both Civill and
Military in my Island of Mann.

No. II.

PUBLIC NOTICE to the Minister of

Ordered to be read in every Parish Church of the
Island, Oct. 3, 1662.

As it cannott bee butt manifest to any sensible capacetie in this Island, what blood guiltines & devastacon the effects of that warre doth p'dict & produce, when (espetially itt carryes a Christian's motto—in rebellious Coullers

& that in an unstayned land for many ages under a legall Monarchiall governm^t, Soe likewise cann itt not bee unheard of, what accrewinge iudgm^{ts} a rebellion of that nature hath invocated, as many els where have beene iustly ptakers of: And although this porre Island had greater reason to feight for peace rather then warre, yet could not their incorrigible sinn be otherwise satisfied, but by displaying itt selfe under the foresaid banner,—insomuch that if our gracious Liege Lord—the lord of this Isle did put in execution his demeritinge Act of iustice what confiscacon would very many of them (erre now) have incurred & appropriated, but such is the greate goodnes, & noblenes of his Lord^{pp}, that he will have mercy mixt with iudgm^t, least he might allarrum, disturbe or disquiet the mindes of many in this Island, who (by reason of the iniquitie of the late tymes) have beene constrayned to do some thinge w^{ch} may have rendered them (uppon a strict inquisicon) liable to some inconvenienses in the seveare eye of the Law; Soe that now his hon^r comands us to publish and declare, that from henceforward none in this his Lo^{pps} Island, shall be mollested either in life or estate for any thinge, they have done concerninge the rebellion or insurrection committed in the year 1651, or before or since within this said Island, the notorious revolution of which tyme beinge how by his Lo^{pp} clearlie oblitterated, exceptinge only the incendiaries or notorious guilty therein, & that not to exceede the number of five Psons; And therefore you are hereby required in humble obedience & punctuall observance of his hono^{rs} said gracious Comands & pleasure, to publish this declaracon unto your Congregacon the next ensuinge Sabbath in a discreete and patheticall maner both in English & Mankse, And least the people bee not then all at the hearinge of dyvine Service, to make knowne that the same is to be read unto them in like maner the followinge Sabbath, for their (not only) better

understandinge but also satisfaction, how gratically his hono^r thus deales wth them, for w^{ch} every one hath iust cause heartely to pray for his Lo^{pp} & Noble famelie, and never p^rsume to offend in such Malignant Courses hereafter:

Dated at Castle Rushen in the said Isle this third of October Ano. Dni. 1662.

RICH. STEVENSON.	THO. HUDDLESTON.
HEN. NOWELL.	JOHN NORRIS.
JOHN CHRISTIAN.	FFERD CALCOTT.
RICH. TYLDESLEY.	RI. CALCOTT.
THO. NORRIS.	HUGH CANNELL.
WILL. HUDDLESTON.	ROBT. QUAILE.
	ROBT. CALCOTT.

No. III.

DEPOSITIONS. Insul. Monæ.

Att Castle Rushen the third of Octob^r 1662.

Examinacons touchinge the insurrection in the yeare 1651, or before or after taken in pursuance of the Order given in that behalfe by the right hono^{ble} the Lord of the Island;

JOHN CESAR of y^e pish of KK Malew & lieutenant of y^e Company of the said pish in the abovesaid yeare 1651. Sworne & examined deposeth and sayth y^t shortly after y^e deptime of the right hono^{ble} James Late Earle of Derby out of this Isle for England in the foresaid yeare 1651, he understood by a murmeringe in the Island, that y^e countrey were about to rise in Armes, And afterwards meetinge or being in the Company of M^r. W^m. Xtian of Raynoldsway within the said Isle, the said W^m. Xtian tooke this Exam^t sworne (but whether it was uppon a booke or by protesta-

An inten-
con to rise
before.

An oath
given by
Re^r. Gen.

cion he this Exam^t cannott now pfectly remember) y^t what he would declare or tell unto him, hee this Exam^t should not reveale the same, whereupon this exam^t havinge taken his Oath or protestacon the said W^m. Xtian tould him that the Countrey were to rise, And this exam^t beinge asked what their risinge should bee for, hee answers, that as farr as hee remembers it was to make their condicons with y^e Parliam^t. And further declareth, that it was intended, that if the head Court day of Gaole delivery had been holden that winter 1651, the Castle of Rushen would have beene surprized by y^e countrey, and that the said William Christian tould him this exam^t before of y^e intention of surprizinge y^e Castle. This exam^t further sayth that y^e chiefe psons that appeared in the risinge at Raynoldsway the night before y^e head Court day afforesaid at night and that came there in their owne psons and wth their Companies were John Moore of Glentriagh then lieutenant of K Santon, James Banckes of y^e How then lieutenant of K Conchan Phill Moore & Hugh Moore of Douglas, Henry Moore then Capt. of K Marrowne W^m. Gawne then Capt. of KK Christ Rushen, & M^r. William Qualtrough of Kentraugh in y^t pish, & that likewise S^r Robt Norres now of Douglas was there alsoe and administred an Oath to all the Company there assembled w^{ch} were at least eight hundred Psons as hee this exam^t conjectureth, And sayh that y^e said W^m. Xtian was lookt uppon & taken to bee or held as their head and Chiefe Comander. This Exam^t further sayth that y^e said S^r Robt. Norris tooke him this exam^t sworne shortly after that hee had soe protested to y^e said W^m. Xtian for to conceale what he y^e s^d S^r Robt Norris should tell him and havinge taken his Oath upon a small booke hee tooke out of his pockett, y^e said S^r Robt tould him, y^t it was y^t y^e countrey were to rise, This exam^t further sayth that after y^e condicons made betwixt y^e Countesse Doweger of Derby, & the said

Country
was to rise.

For y^e
Parliam^t.

Castle
Rushen to
be taken.

Psons ap-
pearing in
the risinge.

Y^e Depon-
ent upon
further
considera-
con sayth

y^t Phill.
Moore was
not at Ray-
noldsway
but sayth
y^t hee
knew of y^e
risinge
of y^r
country.

W^m. Xⁱⁿ
y^e head
Comander.

Hee swore
to S^r R^t
Norris.

Commis-
sion^{rs} upon
y^e treaty
wth y^e
Islanders.

Appear-
ance of y^e
shipp^s.

A boat
sent out
with Hugh
Moore.

Psons go-
inge a
board in
Ramsey.

What con-
dicons was
then made.

William Christian with others, by certayne Comissioners, that is to say S^r Phill Musgrave the Governor of the Isle,¹ Archdeacon Rutter, & M^r. Stevenson y^e now deputy on her Lapp's behalfe; And y^e said W^m. Xtian then Receiver, Ewan Curghey of Ballakillingan & this Deponent himself, on the pte of y^e contrey, and artickles of aggreem^t concluded upon, that uppon y^e appearance of certayne shipp^s passinge by y^e Island, all the Company marched wth S^r Phill Musgrave towards Ramsey, and y^t when y^e said Shippinge went by Douglas roade, there was a boate went out unto them, wherein Hugh Morre afforesaid then was, and as it seems gave intelligence of y^e condition of y^e countrey at that p^rsent, And soe this exam^t cominge to Ramsey with divers others when the Shippinge had ankored,—M^r. John Xtian Deemster M^r. Ewan Curghe afforesaid, W^m. Standish with this exam^t & others as hee understood were chosen to goe, then a shipboard, Colonell Duckenfield asked the said psons what condicons was that they demanded, & y^t y^e s^d Deemster & some of the rest answered, that they might enjoy their lawes & liberties as formerly they had, & that it was demanded, whether they asked any more, but nothing els was demanded, that this exam^t heard of.

JOHN CESAR.²

Taken
prison^r to
Ronalds-
way.

JOHN KNEALE of Ballasalla runner of pish of Malew in the foresaid yeare 1651 sworne & examined touching y^e sendinge forth of the Crosses for to raise the said pish, sayth that hee cannot certaynly declare y^e same, for y^t hee was taken a prissoner to Raynoldsway where y^e Countrey had mett, and y^t in his absence the said Crosses (which then

¹ Was sworn Governor the day Governor Greenhalgh was interred at Malew, Sept. 19th, 1651.

² This family is now represented by Capt. Joseph Bacon of Seafield.

remayned in his hands) were sent abroad, & y^t as hee understood y^t y^e directions for it came from Raynoldsway.

JO. KNEALE, his m^rk X.

W^m. GAWNE Capt. of K Christ Rushen in y^e yeare 1651, sworn & examined deposed & sayth that pceyvinge a murmeringe amongst his Company for a risinge, hee consented wth them, And y^t it was M^r. W^m. Qualtrough of Kentraugh that was y^e chiefest actor, & y^t hee had gott y^e said company together at y^e hill of Kentraugh before hee this exam^t came from Castletowne on y^e head court day, & this exam^t soe findinge them marched wth them along to Raynoldsway, where the said W^m. Qualtrough advised him to bringe them, & sayth y^t Comptroller Sharples was privy to y^e said risinge, & a great incendiary therein, And y^t hee this exam^t never tooke an Oath about y^e said risinge either at Raynoldsway or els where, nor did not see any of the company there assembled take any Oath, And further sayth y^t hee heard y^e said W^m. Qualtrough speake two years before y^e said risinge, that it would doe noe good to withstand y^e three nations, And y^t about six weekes before y^e risinge, Deemster Qualtrough was speakinge in like maner, And acknowledged that hee this exam^t gave his concent to y^e said W^m. Qualtrough to raise his pish as afforesaid.

Murmering
for risinge.
Deemster
Qualtrough
chief actor.

Marched to
Raynolds-
way.
Comptroll^r
Sharples.

D. Qual-
trough fore-
knowinge
y^e risinge.

Gawne's
consent to
rise.

WILLM. GAWNE.

JOHN MORRE of Glantraugh lieutenant of K Santon in y^e yeare 1651, sworn & examined sayth That hee was at Raynoldsway when y^e countrey were there in Armes, & y^t hee heard say amongst y^e company, that the meetinge was to bee against the Lady viz. y^e Countesse dowager Derby & y^t hee stayed there amongst them whilst they so continued.

Risinge ag^t
y^e Lady.

JOHN MORRE, his m^rke, X.

No. IV.

DEPOSITIONS.

Att Castle Peele the fourth of Octob^r 1662.

S^r ROBERT NORRIS, Clerke (now of Douglas towne) sworn & examined deposeth & sayth, That hee never knew of the risinge of y^e countrey in their insurreccion or rebellion in the yeare 1651 befor the head court day at night that was to be houlden in that winter 1651, and that hee received that knowledge from the before named W^m. Xtian of Raynoldsway the same night, but sayth that W^m. Qualtrough of Kentraugh late Deemster in this Isle tould him about a month before or shortly after the late Earle of Derby went out of y^e Isle in the said yeare for England, that hee thought y^e countrey would rise, for that they found themselves aggrieved because of the troope that then was in the Isle & their free quarteringe or words to that effect, This Exam^t further sayth that beinge inquissitive from y^e said W^m. Xtian, Receiv^r to know uppon what grounds they did soe rise hee the said W^m. Xtian answered him hee need not feare for hee had a Comission for itt from y^e States delivered by y^e hands of Major ffox and there uppon produced a writinge w^{ch} y^e said Receiver tould him was y^e s^d Comission & read y^e same unto this exam^t and y^e s^d W^m. Qualtrough, Hugh Moore, John Cesar, & others & that y^e s^d W^m. Xtian also tould him y^t y^e Comission was from y^e Parliam^t to y^e said Major ffox as before & that as hee remembers the contents of y^e s^d Comission was that the said Receiver should raise the countrey in Armes against the Counteese Derby then in y^e Castle Rushen, And further declareth that y^e said W^m. Xtian delivered him this exam^t an oath to bee administered to y^e people, w^{ch} in substance is as followeth, viz., That the people should wthstand y^e Lady of Derby in her designes untill shee

Y^e risinge
tould him
the head
Court day
night by
Rec^r Xtⁿ

D. Qual-
trough's
service
to him
before the
rising.

The Comis-
sion, and
to whom
read.

The
contents of
y^e Comis-
sion ag^t y^e
Lady
Derby.

Oath d^d by
Rec^r Xtⁿ.
The
substance
thereof.

had yealded or condissended to their aggreavances both for
y^e saftie of herself & y^e countrey; And hee further sayth
that y^e s^d W^m. Xtin engaged him this exam^t by protestacon
to be true unto him & y^t hee heard y^e said W^m. Xtin say
(besides many others) that her Lapp should sell y^e people for
2^d or 3^d a peece, And y^t y^e s^d W^m. Xtin said that her Lapp
promissed that shee would make known unto them when
shee sent to make condicons with y^e Parliam^t & y^t shee sent
wthout their knowledge contrary to her promise & would sell
them for 2^d or 3^d a peece as before to destroy them, hee
also sayth that y^e said W^m. Xtin of Raynoldsway adminis-
tered y^e aforesaid oath to many of y^e people himself as to
S^r Tho. Parr & others, And further sayth that hee never knew
nor heard of any other to bee the cheife actor in the said
risinge, but him y^e said W^m. Xtin of Raynoldsway only, hee
also sayth that y^e other actors in the said risinge was Hugh
Moore of Douglas who brought in y^e company of K Lonan,
& James Banckes of y^e How who brought in y^e company of
KK Conchan & Henry Moore y^e company of K Marrowne
W^m. Gawne y^e company of Trinit. Rushen, John Cesar y^e
company of K Malew and y^t it was y^e s^d John Cesar y^e first
y^t came in to his best remembrance. Y^e Exam^{ts}
engadg^{mt}
to be true
to Rec^r
Xtian.
People to
be sold for
2^d or 3^d a
peece.
Rec^r dixit.
Discontent
about
promises
from her
Lapp.
2^d and 3^d
a peece.
Rec^r X^{tn}
adminis-
tered an
oath to y^e
people.
Rec^r y^e
chiefe head
or actor in
y^e risinge.
Other
actors.
ROB^r. NORRIS.¹

HUGH MOORE of Douglas, sworn & examined acknow-
ledgeth & sayth that about a month before y^e risinge of y^e
countrey, the s^d W^m. Xtin of Ronaldsway gave him an Oath,
that hee this exam^t should not reveale if hee heard of a risinge,
but did not know of y^e risinge before the night y^e risinge
was, And y^t after y^e risinge y^e s^d W^m. Xtin shewed this
Exam^t a Comision w^{ch} was delivered him y^e s^d W^m. Xtin by
Major ffox w^{ch} puported y^t by y^e same pouer that hee y^e s^d
Major ffox had from y^e States he comissionaled him y^e s^d
W^m. Xtin to raise y^e countrey for y^e parliam^t against all
An oath
given by
Rec^r Xtian
for
Secrecie.
The
Comission
granted by
Fox to the
Receiver.

¹ Robert Norris was Vicar of Arbory 1623-1650.

opposers; And y^t y^e s^d W^m. Xtin Raynoldsway gave direcions
 Rec^r orders
 y^e risinge
 of Parishes. or order to James Banckes of y^e How to raise the parish of K
 Conchan & to give notice to y^e Lieutenant of K Lonan
 to raise th^t Parish, hee further sayth that James Banckes
 afforesaid came to him with verball orders from y^e s^d W^m.
 Rec^r orders
 y^e going
 out of y^e
 boate to
 the Shipp-
 pinge. Xtin Receiver to chadge a boate for to meete y^e Shippinge or
 Goinge a Navy & to make condicons for y^e Lady and Countrey and
 Shipp- thereuppon this exam^t went a shippboard & tould Colonell
 board. Duckenfield then generall that y^e Lady and y^e countrey had
 Persons by And y^t after cominge to Ramsey bay Major ffox came a shore
 at y^e cominge with this exam^t & tould Deemster John Xtin, John Cesar,
 ashore of W^m. Standish & as hee thinks old John Curghe y^t Collonell
 Major Fox. Duckenfield had promised y^t y^e condicons made betwixt y^e
 Lady & y^e countrey should be pformed, And thereupon the
 Psons said psons last before named went aboard to conclude y^e same,
 goinge hee further sayth that y^e said W^m. Xtin Receiver sent him this
 aboard. exam^t to y^e north p^{te} of y^e Isle for to give orders to arrest all
 Rec^r orders to arrest y^e boates for goinge out of y^e Isle. HUGH MOORE.
 y^e boates.

JAMES BANCKES of y^e How¹ in y^e pish of K Conchan
 sworne & examined declareth and sayth, That he never heard
 Knowne to of y^e risinge of y^e countrey before y^t Munday y^e Head Court
 y^e risinge day was to bee houlden, & y^t Eveninge y^e foresaid W^m. Xtin
 y^e Head Raynoldsway, W^m. Xtin Knockrushen, W^m. Qualtrough
 Cor^t day by y^e Rec^r & others. Kentraugh & others beinge in company together in Castle-
 townne, & that they tould him that y^e countrey was to rise,
 & y^t y^e s^d Willm Xtin Raynoldsway wisht him this exam^t
 (being then Lieutenant of y^e foresaid pish) to repaire home,
 Ordered by & send forth y^e crosses and raise the pish for y^t y^e fleete was
 y^e Rec^r to send out crosses to rise y^e parish of without y^e consent of his Captayne, Hee also sayth that y^e
 C. The reas^{on}. ² The How estate is in the possession of his heir at the present time.

s^d W^m. Xtin Raynoldsway wish'd him to ride to Douglas & bidd Hugh Moore of Douglas to take a boate and meete y^e fleete before they should come to Ramsey & tell them (meaning y^e Comanders of y^e fleete) that the countrey was all for them least when the fleete came to Ramsey & meete the countrey in armes, y^e countrey would be undone by itt, & y^t hee y^e s^d W^m. Xtin of Raynoldsway would come himself to Ramsey forthwith to meete them, And sayth y^t hee had noe direcons from y^e s^d W^m. Xtin, Raynoldsway, to bid Hugh Moore make any condicons for y^e Lady and countrey, but as before.

JAMES BANCES.

His direcon from y^e Rec^r to Hugh Moore to send out a boat. The message to y^e comanders of y^e fleete. The Rec^r doubt because y^e country was then in Arms.

PHILLIPP MOORE of Douglas sworne & examined declareth and sayth, That hee was tould by y^e foresaid W^m. Xtin Raynoldsway before the risinge of y^e countrey, that y^e countrey was to rise and that y^e s^d W^m. Xtin tooke him sworne upon the bible not to reveale the same, for y^t an army was to come & that y^e countrey should be in readines against their cominge, & y^t y^e risinge was to bee for y^e good of y^e countrey, he further sayth y^t hee was by when James Banckes came from y^e Receiver Xtin to this Deponent's brother Hugh Moore to take the boate and goe out to meete y^e fleete & to tell them all was right, or all was their owne or words to that effect.

PHILLIP MOORE.

Rec^r tould him before of y^e risinge. Rec^r tooke him sworne. Rec^r's knowledge of y^e cominge of y^e Army. James Bancke's message to Hugh Moore for going a aboard.

SAM. RADCLIFFE of Gourden, in the pish of K Patricke & Captayne of the Company thereof in y^e yeare 1651, sworne & examined declarith & sayth That hee never knew of y^e risinge of y^e countrey untill y^e head or great court day that was to be holden in y^e winter 1651, and then was told y^e same by John Cesar & Hugh Moore of Douglas, in Castletown, who as hee remembers was then together & brought him to y^e house of Robt. Barrey in Castletown, & after severall circumstances, brought him to y^e Receiver

J. Caesar & H. Moore tould him of y^e risinge on y^e head Co^rDay.

Rec^d in-
courage
y^e exam^t
to joyne.
Rec^d a

message of
Shippinge
coming
to surprize
Castle
Peele.
Sending
out y^e
Cross.

Siege agst
Peel by
Rec^d Xtin's
orders.

This exam^t
chief
comander
there.

Country
ould for
2^d or 3^d a
piece by
my Lady.

Writings
from y^e

Rec^d after
y^e risinge
for his care.

Sr Ro^t
Norris
hand to
some
noates.

Y^e surprize
of Castle
Rushen
tould by
Rec^d Xtin.

Cæsar &
Gawne on
y^e designe.

M^ylearran
and Xtin
Jurby first
tould him
of y^e
risinge.

This exam^t
had noe
orders for
itt.

Y^e country
sold for
2^d a piece,
& y^t C.
Sharples

Xtin of Raynoldsway who then did incourage him this exam^t to joyne with him in raisinge y^e people in Armes, & to give out that Shippinge was aboute y^e countrey, that hee might bringe soe many of his company together into Castle Peele as thereby to surprize y^e said Castle, whereuppon this exam^t sent out y^e crosse to raise some of his company uppon that enterprise, but was dissuaded by Deemster Cannell who then was at the house Knockaloe, viz., Thos. Racliffes, And this exam^t further acknowledgeth that hee wth y^e North Companyes lay siege against Castle Peele by Receiver Xtin's orders, & that hee this exam^t himselfe was y^e chiefe Comander there upon y^t designe, Hee further sayth y^t the reasons w^{ch} y^e above John Cesar & Hugh Moore moved him wth all touching the said risinge was that the countrey was sould for ij^d or iij^d apeece by lady Derby. This exam^t alsoe sayth that there was severall Noates in writinge y^t past betwixt him & y^e s^d Receiver Xtin after y^e rising for his care in maninging y^e same designe, & y^t S^r Robt. Norris his hand was to some Noates: And this exam^t also saith y^t y^e Receiver Xtin tould him on y^e s^d head Court day that they were designed to surprize Castle Rushen and y^t John Cesar & Capt. Gawne tould him the same & were uppon y^e same designe.

SAM RADCLIFFE.

PHILIPP CANNELL of K Michaell Liewtent of y^e s^d pish in the yeare 1651, sworn & examined declareth & sayth, That hee never heard of y^e risinge of y^e countrey untill y^e head Court day 1651, & that then hee did rise with y^e rest of y^e countrey but had noe orders for itt, but sayth y^t W^m. M^ylearran & Tho. Xtin of Jurby tould him that the countrey was sould for ij^d apeece and y^t y^e Comptroller Sharples & Receiver Xtin tould y^e same to them, whereuppon this exam^t raised y^e Company, & y^t they

tooke Thomas Midleston prisoner at Bopps Court, & also sayth y^t y^e said M'Ylearran & Tho. Xtian wisht him to raise y^e company. & Rec^r
Xtin tould
or gave it
out.
His
actinge.

PHILLIP CANNELL.

DOLLIN CLARKE¹ of Jurby Lieutenant there in y^e yeare 1651, sworne & examined declareth & sayth, that hee never heard of y^e risinge of y^e countrey untill that Munday w^{ch} should be head Court day in y^e said yeare or y^e night before beinge then in Armes by former orders from y^e comandars under y^e Lady Derby, where they understood of a fleete cominge against y^e Island, whereupon they resolved y^t there was noe better way for the p^rservation & saftie of the country then to rise against my Lady, meaning y^e Countesse Dowager, And sayth y^t W^m. M'Ylearran & Thos. Xtin. Jurby declared amongst them y^t the countrey were sould for ij^d or iij^d apeece & that Receiver Xtin & Comp- troller Sharples tould y^e s^d M'Ylearran & Xtin of y^e same, w^{ch} incensed this Deponent & y^e Company to make y^e resolution afforesaid, and sayth y^t y^e said M'Ylearran & Tho. Xtin brought direcons from y^e s^d Receiver & Comptroller to surprise Major Duckenfield & y^e troope for y^t was y^e night or never, & likewise gave order to march to Ramsey & secure Capt. Engram & y^e Ordnance, & sayth y^t they called at Ewan Curghe Ballakillinghan's whe went wth them, & y^t hee & his company apered y^e next day at y^e Loyall ffourt where they were ordered to bee by y^e direcons afforesaid to take y^e ffourt, where also Capt. Teare, Capt. Thompson of Ballaugh, y^e Company of KK Bride, & John Lace, Lieutenant of K Andreas, were all present with their companies, & likewise y^e Company of K Maughall & soe upon y^t attempt,

Resolucon
to rise upon
y^e report of
a fleet
cominge.

Risinge
ag^t my
Lady.

The reason
of 2^d or 3^d
a peece by
M'Ylearran
& Xtin

Jurby sent
from C.
Sharples &
Rec^r Xtin.

Orders
from y^m
also to
surprize y^e
Troope.

To secure
Capt.
Ingram &
order

The pties
marching.

¹ The descendants of this family are still resident at the Nappin, one of whom the Rev. John Thomas Clarke, so long the Chaplain of St. Mark's in the parish of Malew, by whose exertions so much was done to raise the value of the living to its present state.

The fort
secured.

y^e ffourt was taken and ceised upon by y^e said compaynes,
And sayth y^t, this Deponent & Company would not have
thought of any such enterprises & attempts but y^t y^e said
M'Ylearran & Tho. Xtin brought them the foresaid message
& soe incensed them upon y^e said designes.

DOLLIN CLARKE.

Rec^r Xtin's
message to
send out
crosses.

Psons
calling him
this exam^t

Mett Major
Ducken-
field, R.
ffletcher
priss^{na}
2^d or 3^d a
peece.

MR. EWAN CURGHIE¹ of Ballakillingan sworne &
examined declareth and sayth, that hee knew nothing of y^e
Rising of the countrey before y^t the Countrey did rise, And
y^t y^t night W^m. M'Ylearran or Ewan Curghie Ballacarghee
came to his house, & tould him y^t there were shippinge at
Ramsey, and y^t Receiver Xtin wisht that crosses should bee
sent out to raise y^e pish, & that thereupon hee went and
tould his father thereof being Captain of y^e pish & y^e
crosses² were sent, & y^t afterwards John Teare, W^m. Teare,
Dollin Clarke of Jurby, and others, knockt at his doore &
raised him wth them to goe towards Ramsey & y^t goinge
thithier they mett many people, wth Major Duckenfield, &
Rich. ffletcher, who were taken prisoners, & there heard a
mutteringe amongst y^e company that the countrey was
sould for ij^d or iij^d a peece, & soe went to Ramsey, and

¹ His representatives still reside at Ballakillingan.

² SENDING ROUND THE CROSS.

This custom is no doubt derived from the Scandinavian rulers of the
Island, who were accustomed to send round the "War Arrow" to warn or
alarm the natives. The Captain of each parish had the custody of the cross,
which consisted of two pieces of wood about the length of a man's arm.
When it was required to summon the parish in case of any emergency, he
gave it to his next neighbour, with instructions that the cross was to muster
the people at such a place, and then the neighbour took it from the Captain
and proceeded to his neighbour, who carried it forward to another, and so on,
until the whole circuit of the parish had been informed. By this mode of
summons persons were bound to attend at the place appointed. Sir Walter
Scott, in his notes to the *Lady of the Lake*, canto third, gives an account of the
manner of sending round the *Fiery Cross* to summon the clansmen.

ceized upon Capt. Ingram then Comander there wth y^e Ordance, and y^t next morninge they went from Ramsey to y^e loyall ffourt & demanded y^e fourt from Major Stanley the Comander there, who refusinge to deliver it y^e same was resigned after most of his soldiers had deserted him. And then went to Bopps. Court where some message came, y^t Receiver Xtin should send for a matter of six of the company to come over to Raynoldsway, & that this exam^t went for one, And further sayth that hee did not know who were y^e fomentors or contryvers in y^e said risinge, & y^t after hee came to Raynoldsway y^e Receiver Xtin was looked uppon to bee y^e head Comander of y^e Company there.

Exploit at Ramsey.
The Loyall fourt taken.

Rec^r Xtin's message to Bopps Court.

This exam^t went over.

Rec^r Xtin looked on as head.

EW. CURGHEY.

WILLM M'YLEARRAN of Trint Ayre Sworn & examined, declareth and sayth That hee nothinge heard of y^e risinge of the countrey before y^e day y^t y^e head Court was to bee houlden in Winter 1651, And that cominge to Castletowne being in company wth Receiver Xtin, W^m. Xtin Knockrushen, Sam. Radcliffe, Hugh Moore, & others, & their being a private consultacon amongst them about a risinge of y^e countrey, and that the cause or grounds of y^e risinge was to bee against y^e Countesse of Derby, because that there were messengers that went out of y^e Island & came in contrary to her Lapps promises, And sayth that some of y^e said psons would have y^e risinge to bee y^e head Court day at night, & some y^e next night after, but in y^e end it was agreed upon that it should bee y^t night, and y^t it was concluded upon y^t Sam Radcliffe was arranged and did undertake to take Castle Peele with his complices, & Hugh Moore did undertake y^e ffourt at Douglas, and y^t John Teare of Jurby & M^r. Ewan Curghey of Ballakillingan, Phillip Cannell of KK Michaell, & (as this exam^t thinks John Cayne Bullegawne) & Dollin Clarke of Jurby & others

Consultacon about y^e risinge by Rec^r Xtin & others.

Agst the Countess Derby.

A reason of a promise.

had comendacons sent unto them (by this exam^t) from y^e s^d Receiver Xtin, Sam. Radcliffe, Hugh Moore, & the rest above, and y^t they should bee carefull & doe their endeavo^r (being then to rise uppon this consultacon) & y^t Phillip Cannell & y^e said John Cayne should seize uppon and take y^e Bopps Court, And y^t John Teare & Dollin Clarke & their Company should surprize & take y^e Troope whereof Major Duckinfield was Comander, And y^t y^e s^d John Teare, M^r. Ewan Curghe & this exam^t and as many as they could get to their company, should take y^e loyall ffourt, And y^t Castle Rushen was to bee taken y^e same night also, but cannott remember by whome, he sayth y^t Comptroller Sharples was very instrumentall in the said consultacon, And y^t Sam. Radcliffe & Xtin Knockrushen tould him this exam^t that y^e countrey was sould for ij^d or iij^d apeece, & y^t this exam^t should tell y^e same to the above Phill. Cannell (who this exam^t sayth was much confided in & espetiall by Xtin Knockrushen) John Teare, Ewan Curghey, Jo. Cayne, Dollin Clarke, & their Companies, & y^t hee accordingly tould y^e message unto them, who answered y^t they would doe their endeav^r all which tooke effect by their acting afterward, ffor the said John Cayne & Phill. Cannell wth y^e Company of K Michaell (who they raised) took Bopps Court, wherein one Jo. Quayle Coolshellagg was very active, & strooke at Tho. Midleton, & y^t there wth others bound him, as this exam^t afterwards heard of, And y^t Jo. Teare, W^m. Teare Sertfield, Dollin Clarke & Jurby men, wth some of Ballaugh pish, & this exam^t himself tooke y^e troope & y^t Major Duckenfield y^e Comander & M^r. Rich. ffletcher were taken prisoners; And y^t then this exam^t with Jo. Teare & y^e rest of y^e Company last named went to Ballakillingan to call on M^r Ewan Curghe to goe wth them to Ramsey according to y^e foresaid message, & when they came there (and Capt. Ingram being Comander) he tould them (after understanding their intencons) that hee

longed for itt, & we resigned, & went wth them y^e said company towards y^e loyall ffourt incourddginge them, that they should make noe doubt of takinge it, and soe came thither w^{ch} was resigned by Major Stanley y^e Comander upon condicons unto y^e s^d M^r. Ewan Curghey & John Teare as chiefe of y^e s^d company with other pties. And then this exam^t cominge wth y^e s^d Major Duckenfield to Bopps Court as prisoner, but y^e s^d Major desired to goe to Parson Parr's & went thither to repose themselves, at w^h tyme y^e said Parson Parr asked of this exam^t why some of their company would have sett a guard on him, & said wth all that they need not, for hee y^e s^d Parson knew more of y^e risinge than they did, And further sayth y^t M^r. Rich. Heape being then at Bopps Court when Major Duckenfield & this exam^t came thither, said in like maner that hee knew of y^e risinge before more than they did, And further sayth y^t there came a letter from Raynoldsway for John Teare, Dollin Clarke, M^r. Ewan Curghey with this exam^t & others, and as hee remembers John Garrett for to come over to Raynoldsway, & y^t accordingly they went, And there being a report of a company to come from my Lady Derby out of y^e Castle to Raynoldsway, John Garrett & Dollin Clarke went over to Peele side (but by whose comand of direcons this exam^t knows not) & fetched about fourty musquetiers from thence to Raynoldsway to oppose the said pties y^t was to come out of y^e Castle, And sayth y^t this is all y^t hee cann materially speake touchinge y^e said risinge.

WILLM. M'YLEARRAN, his X marke.

THO. CRAIN of Ballaugh, Lieuten^t of KK German pish in y^e year 1651, sworn & examined sayth that y^e said exam^t (cominge from Castletown on Monday w^{ch} should have been the head Co^t day in winter in y^e said yeare) overtook Capt. Sam. Radcliffe by the way, who told him that ther was a fleete of shippinge cominge to y^e Island and bid y^e said

exam^t (in his Cap. absence) to send for his company to Knocklanech in y^e said pish, and accordingly y^e said exam^t did and p^resently after received orders from y^e said Capt. Radcliff to dismiss them again, And afterwards the companies of y^e Northside coming to Peeletown to lay seige ag^t y^e Castle, he y^e said exam^t was amongst them and Capt. Sam. Radcliffe was Chiefe Comander their as he y^e exam^t pceived, & further saith not.

THOMAS CRAIN.

No. V.

DEPOSITIONS.

Att Castle Rushen 29th of Octobr 1662.

W^m. M'YLREA of Ballaugh sworn and examined de-
poseth & sayth, that being on a certayne tyme in y^e company
of Parson Rob^t Parr (and as this exam^t sayth hee thinks
W^m. M'Ylearran was present) the s^d Parson tould him this
Exam^t that Jurby men would have sett a guard on him y^e
night y^t y^e rising was but s^d they were fooles in y^t for hee
the s^d Parson (as hee the said Parson then sayd) knew more
then they did (meaninge the said Jurby men) and that the
Recevier & him the said Parson was all as one, And this
Exam^t sayth that this expression was after y^e English Army
came into the Island, And this Exam^t further sayth that hee
knows not w^{ch} Receiver y^e said Parson meant for at y^t tyme
Capt. Xtin was called Receiver as well as M^r. W^m. Xtin of
Raynoldsway.

W^m. M'YLREA, his m^rke, X.

W^m. STANDISH¹ of Ellanbane sworn & examined de-
poseth & sayth, That y^e next day after y^e risinge of y^e
countrie this Exam^t coming to y^e loyall fourt, M^r. Ewan
Curghey of Ballakillingan was there wth a drawne sword, &

¹ He was probably a Cadet of the House of Standish of Duxbury, Lancashire.

threateninge Major Tho. Stanley (then Comander of y^e said ffourt) & tellinge him that y^e Lady Derby had sould all y^e countrey for ij^d or iij^d apeece, and y^t all the Garrisons of the Isle were taken y^e night before, And sayth y^t John Teare Capt. of Jurby & Ewan Xtin of Cranstall in K Bride W^m. Teare Sertfied amongst divers others & this exam^t himself who were there the same time . . . with drawn swords, & y^t y^e s^d Teare & Xtin were vaporinge & expressing themselves in like maner, as y^e s^d Ewan Curghey did, And further sayth that y^e said Ewan Curghey sent one Phillip Curleod of K Christ Lezayre to burne or sett fyer in the kilne of John M'Sayle who was then in y^e said ffourt, & accordingly the said Curleod went & burnt y^e said kilne, And also sayth that after condicons made by y^e s^d Ewan Curgheie, Jo. Teare, Ewan Xtin & others wth Major Stanley, & y^e ffourt surrendered, they y^e s^d psons marched to Peele Castle, wth their Companye and this Exam^t cominge thither (as he sayth out of feare) about y^e third or fourth day after y^e risinge of y^e countrey, Sam. Radcliffe of Gourden sent this Exam^t by Comand wth a sticke & a handcherchife on itt for a flagg of truce unto Major Woods then Comander of y^e s^d Castle to wish him to leave y^e pourt hooles or sally pourts of y^e Garrison open, that it might bee taken y^t night, And y^t this Exam^t was to tell y^e soldiers of y^e countrey then in y^e s^d Garrison, that their houses should be fyered & their goods sequestered to y^e said Sam. Radcliffe's Company except they came out of y^e s^d Garrison, and sayth that Major Woods seemed very much rejoycinge at y^e maner of y^e message, and y^t W^m. Nelson (one of the Lady Derby's Servants) being then in y^e said Castle, sayd to this Exam^t but y^t hee wisht him well, hee would just tell him for bringinge or cominge wth such a message, And further sayth, that about three weeks after y^e fleete came into y^e Island, that y^e foresaid Ewan Curghey & M^r. Charles Crow came unto Exam^t with a

written pap^r desiring him to subscribe y^e same, & sayth y^t y^e contents of y^e s^d writinge was y^t they should certify, that y^e countrey did rise only for the Parliam^t to suppress the Lady Derby, & that this Exam^t denyed to subscribe the same.

WILL. STANDISH.

WILLM. TEARE Sertfield of Jurby sworne & examined deposeth and sayth That hee knew not of y^e risinge of y^e countrey till they had rissen, & that the first that tould him of itt was Capt. John Teare & W^m. M'Ylearran & sayd that y^e Lady Derby had sould y^e countrey for ij^d or iij^d a peece, & y^t therefore they did rise ag^t her Lapp. And sayth y^t W^m. M'Ylearran brought y^t message from M^r. W^m. Xtin of Raynoldsway & Controller Sharples y^e night y^t y^e countrey did rise, & sayth y^t hee wth others were at y^e takinge of y^e loyall flourt, & taking of Major Duckenfield & y^e Officers & Company of y^e Troope then in y^e Isle, This exam^t also sayth y^t y^e s^d M'Ylearran & one Thom. Xtin of Jurby tould Capt. Teare & Capt. Teare told this Exam^t that Castle Peele was to be taken that night by Capt. Sam Ratcliffe & y^t Castle Rushen was to be taken by Comptroller Sharples & y^e countrey for Receiver Xtin.

WILLM. TEARE his m^rke 5.

EWAN CURGHEY Ballnacarga sworn and examined deposeth & saith that W^m. M'Ilreane came wth a message to him the Depon^t from Receiver Xtin and Compt^r Sharples the night of the rising that hee should goe to Ewan Churghy Ballakillinghan & that he should send forth crosses to raise the pish to come to take the Loyall flort next morning, w^{ch} was promissed to bee done by him, And afterwards this Depon^t was sent by Capt. Teare to Milltowne. to tell that the people were in Armes, and would have the Deemster¹

¹ John Christian of Milltown, one of the Deemsters.

to goe along wth them to Ramsey to take Capt. Ingram and the Deemster tould him the Deponent that he was not well but would see them in the morning, But withall s^d he thought they had noe good buisines in hand, This Depon^t was after sent by y^e s^d Teare to some of the people who were neer Ramsey to tell them as is afforesaid and that they were all sold for 2d a piece.

EWAN CURGHY, his m^{rk}, X.

JO. LACE Balodan in y^e pish of K Andras sworne & examin'd depose^th & saith that M^r. Ewan Curghy & Captⁿ Jo. Teare were the Chiefest Comanders at taking of the Loyall fforte, & that the s^d Ew. Curghy would have had Jo. Kneale to have sett fire in some of the houses of them that were then in the ffort but the s^d Kneale refusing soe to doe, the s^d Ewan rode away his horse & p^rsently after the kilne of Jo. Sale who then was in the ffort was set on ffire.

JOHN LACE.

All the examinacons afforesaid were taken before us.

RICHD. STEVENSON.	HUGH CANNELL.
HEN. NOWELL.	WILL. HUDDLESTON.
JOHN CHRISTIAN.	THO. HUDDLESTON.
RICHD. TYLDESLEY.	ROBT. QUAILE.
THO. NORRIS.	
RL CALCOTT.	

FFERD CALCOTT.

JOHN NORRIS.

No. VI.

DEPOSITION of THOMAS PARRE, Vicar of Malew, .

November 13th, 1662.

Being the last court day called before the Worp^l Comession^{rs} of our R^t Hon^{ble} and most gracious Lo. of the Isle, & required upon oath to declare a truth touchinge the risinge of the country to witt, whether I myselfe knew of the risinge of the country before they did rise, who had a hand in it, or what I did heare or know touchinge y^e s^d risinge and to give in the same under my owne hande upon oath:—

(1.) By vertue of my oath that I have taken, I say that I never had any hand in or any knowledge of the risinge afores^d untill the day after att or about the houres of 9 or 10 of the clock in y^e forenoone being told of y^e same then by Jo. Key & one or two of the Countess of Derbyes men, being returned from Peele that morninge, att w^{ch} I was sore troubled in minde not knowinge what should befall us, then afterwards upon y^e pssuasion of some I was drawn to goe down to Ranoldsway where the people of this side were gathered hearinge that most or many of the countrie people that were in the Castle were gone doune out of the Castle to the rest, And that M^r. Archdeacon Rutter (our late Ordinarie¹) with some others were gone down to Ranoldsway to a Parley (where the Clergie of y^e south side were alsoe) and after I heard the Parley & goeing (or about to goe) home M^r. Rec^r Christian seeing me asked me, where were my neighbours, M^r. Tho. Norris² and M^r. W^m. Tyldesley that they came not down, and when I returned home that night meetinge M^r. Tyldesley & askinge what news told him what

¹ Mr. Rutter was then made Bishop of Sodor and Man.

² Mr. Thos. Norris was Deemster from about 1665-91.

was said by M^r. Receiver, & afterwards was sent for by M^r. Tho. Norris to give him the meetinge that night aboute half way; the w^{ch} I did & being asked by the said M^r. Norris what was done there, & what was said of them that came not down, I told him of all, & what was threatned & how the comon report was that they would sett fire in their houses that were not with them, & soe when I went downe again to have y^{en} Parley, S^r Robt. Norris W^m. Christian of Knock Rushen M^r. Receiver Christian & some others came to me in the open field, & S^r Robt. first moved, & he & them would have me to take an Oath, & because I refused he & them s^d that M^r. Norris M^r. Tyldesley, Jo. Quillinge, M^r. Robt. Quayle, M^r. fletcher & others that were come to them, did take an oath & why would not I; againe, when I would not yeld to take an oath it was s^d as God help you that you will bee true & not reveale our secreats, I replied not I: for I know none of yo^r secreats, & upon the oath I have taken I know not one word of y^r secreats nor was privie anyway to their acts or intentions, And whereas Sir Robt. Norris said that Receiver Christian did sweare me I answer upon & by virtue of the oath that I have taken that the said Receiver Christian nor any els did never take me sworne, or administred any oath to me against Kinge, Lo. Countesse, Lady or against the Governor or Government, or against the peace or quiettnes of the country or any such thinge, And I defie all the country & all the world to disprove, or to prove that I ever had a hand in any thing touchinge the s^d risinge.

(2.) That day that Governor Greenehalgh¹ was buried after the Interinge of the corps & that the people were gone out of the Church Comptrowler Sharples S^r Rob^t. Norris Receiver Christian Will^m. Christian of Knockrushen and (as I thinke) Jo. Ceaser were in counsell or some secrete dis-

¹ Governor Greenhalgh was buried at Malew on the 19th of September 1651.

course at the Alter of KK Malew, & when they saw me come up the chancle they wished me to retire or absent myselfe & soe I went out of the Chancle doore & M^r. Rec^r Christian came out & went down the fields to outcast, & after returned to them againe into y^e Chancle where I left them & went to Castletowne to heare & see S^r Phillip Musgrave¹ sworne Governor.

(3.) After the countrie was reduced & the Island comanded by the souldirie S^r Rob^t. Norris in his new house drinkinge & vaunting of y^e exploits and passages touching the risinge of the country & purposes before sayd that that day that Governor Greenehalgh was buried as the Corps & people or company were att or aboute the cross short of the Church style as they came from Castletown, that he & Jo. Ceaser came to Receiver Christian & spake of takinge the Castle that tyme & that that was the tyme or never & that M^r. Rec^r. Christian frowned upon them and s^d Pissh Pissh, and looked frowningly about him & bad them be quiett, the s^d Sir Ro. acknowledged that they had a purpose to take the Castle that day, and after upon y^e great Court day; And further the s^d S^r Ro. said that they gave it out that there were Barques att the back of Langnesse to cause the Troope to goe downe there that they might take the Castle then.

(4.) The s^d S^r Robt. that tyme that y^e new mores were made that yeare said that W^m. Cubon was made in the wane of the Moone, And after the reducement of the Isle the s^d S^r Ro. asked me did not I say to W^m. Cubon that he was made More in the wane of the Moone when the country was to rise, & the Mankese half Crownes to be putt down.

¹ Sir Philip Musgrave, Knight and Bart., was sworn Governor on the 19th Sept. 1651. He was of Eden Hall in Westmoreland, a Royalist, Col., and Governor of Carlisle; distinguished by services at Marston Moor, Rowton Heath, and Worcester, and by raising several successive regiments in reward of which services he had a warrant granted him to take out the title of "Baron Musgrave of Hartley." (See Collins and Hutton's Baronetcies.)

(5.) The s^d S^r Robt. (before the rising a great while) oft times spake very darkly touching the rising of the country as thus; first was highly comending of Crumble,¹ & then was sayinge what if it would come to passe, that this Isle would rise for Crumble and severall expressions to that purpose all w^{ch} I did tell to M^r. Archdeacon Rutter² (our late Ordinary) who s^d of him that he was a mad foole.

(6.) The s^d S^r Robt. some few days after the risinge came home to his owne house gave bad language & threatned some neighbours & me (because we were not to his mind), threatened Jo. Quillinge that he would shute him, bid his son shute him, suite him, & s^d that he would sute Jo. Quillinge's horns of his head, Jo. Quillinge can tell the reasons of the s^d threateninges and will tell yf cald to it.

(7.) The sayd S^r Robt. on the great Court day in the morninge betymes (before the risinge) went to Castletowne, & his son behinde him, and tooke leave of his wife att doore & bid her not looke for him home that night and bid her not to be afraid, & soe that night was he att Ronaldsway (as it was the comon report and as it hath appeared since, and acknowledged by himselfe) swearing the people.

What I can further recollect or call to minde, I shall declare as neare as I can in truth with God's grace & assistance when further called unto it. The p^rmisses is a truth as witnes the subscription to the testimony of

THO. PARRE.

No. VII.

DEPOSITION.

Att Castle Rushen XXVIth No. 1662.

M^r. WILLM. QUALTROUGH of Kentraugh sworne and examined deposeth & sayth, that being on a tyme a coursinge

¹ Oliver Cromwell.

² Afterwards Bishop of Sodor and Man.

in the company of John Cesar & Capt. Gawne they had talk amongst them how that the country found themselves greatly aggrieved, touching the half Crownes, the Troope, & payinge money to them, and sayth that this discourse was after y^e buriall of Governor Greenhalgh as hee remembereth, but declareth that on y^t day of y^e s^d Governor's buriall, there was a muttering of y^e countrey's rising & of the taking of Castle Rushen, but cannott remember by whome it was spoken ; And y^t hee heard nothinge more of y^e s^d risinge of the countrey before y^e head Court day houlden in y^e yeare of y^e risinge, and that then hee heard it in the Company of Receiver W^m. Xtin Comptroller Sharples, John Cesar, Phill. Moore, Hugh Moore, W^m. M'Ylearran & divers Others in the house of Robt. Burrye in the Castletown, & sayth that y^e discourse in y^e company was findinge themselves aggrieved with y^e pticulars above, & wth the frigotts men, & y^t the Countess of Derby broke her promise in sending a man for England unknowne to the countrey or words to that effect & y^t therefore the countrey would rise in Armes to declare their greivance to her Lapp, & that they would take y^e Castle Rushen that day, and sayth that it was concluded on that y^e Meetinge should bee at Raynoldsway y^e s^d night where y^e countrey were to meete in Armes, and this exam^t being at Raynoldsway afterwards, there was an Outh administered to y^e foote companies there by S^r Robt. Norris now of Douglas that they y^e countrey should sticke one to another & declare their aggreviances to her Ladyshipp or to the same effect in substance, This Deponent further sayth, that having gone from Raynoldsway to Peele Town hee receyved a trooper of horse from Capt. Sam Radcliffe . . . wth this exam^t comanded & brought y^m over to Raynoldsway doubting they were too weake there, And when this Exam^t came theither, y^e Receiver told him that her Lapp and the countrey were agreed, And also sayth y^t y^e s^d

Receiver Xtin was looked uppon to bee their heade or Chiefe in the said risinge at Raynoldsway, and all that to the Exam^{ts} best remembrance at present.

WILLM. QUALTROUGH.

[This last Depⁿ bears date on the day on which the Court of Gen^l Gaol Delivery was held, Nov. 26, 1662.]

No. VIII.

DOCUMENTS of the LIEUT.-GOVERNOR, DEEMSTERS, and KEYS respecting the Mode of Trial, etc., of WILLIAM CHRISTIAN.

To y^e 24 Keys.

I desire yo^r advice & assistance whether (upon the examinacons taken and reade before you) you find M^r W^m. Christian of Ronoldsway wthin compass of the Statute of y^e year 1422 that is to receive a sentance without quest or to be tryed according to Ordinarye co^rse of Tryall for life and death in this country.

To be w th in y ^e Compass	To be tryed by y ^e co ^r se of
of y ^e Statute we subscribe.	Tryall for life and death by
	Quest y ^e fact or crime laid
	to his charge being treason we
	Subscribe and y ^t the Enquest
	both petty and Grand Jury be
	the one half Garrison Men.

JO. GARRETT.

JO. NORRIS.

THO. MOORE.

JOHN STANDISH. JOHN FARGHER. THO. CAINE.

ROBT. QUAYLE. THO. FFLETCHER. ROBT. STEVENSSON.

WM. CORLETT. ROBT. CALLCOTT. JAMES MOORE.

WM. QUAILE. THO. RATCLIFFE. ED. CHRISTIAN.

THO. BANKES. CHARLES STANLEY.

that he have an inquest for the facts by him.

Accordinge to y^e Advice & assistance given by soe many of y^e 24 Keyes as were now p^rsent, we declare that y^e w^{thin} named M^r. W^m. Christian is to be tryed by y^e enquest, as w^{thin} written.

At Castletown y^e 13th of
9^{ber} 1662.

JOHN CHRISTIAN.
THO. NORRIS.

INDICTMENT, Nov. 13, 1662.

Inquisie Capt. apud Castr. de Rushen xiiij^s die Novemb^r Anno Domini 1662 in p^rsena Robt. Callcott Coron^r legatus Rushen Sheading in plena curia Cora Rich. Stevenson Armiger dep. Locu tent hujus Insul et Recept Johan Christian et Thom. Norres Justicar et omn. Officiar ibm p^rsent sup Sacram^t sex legall homin^s, viz., Richard Halsall Peter Robinson et Robt. Shymin Milit, Willm. Wattleworth Thom. Clarke et John Cottier de preh S^{ct} Lupi husbandmen Jurat Qui die sup Jurat ut requit, viz., That they the said Jurors doe find by severall deposicons proofes & evidences William Christian late of Ranoldsway gentt to be a traitor for his insurrection & treacherie against the right hon^{rl} the Countesse Dowager of Derby at such tyme as her Lapp was in the yeare 1651 fully intrusted and ympowered wth the State and Government of this Isle of Mann in the absence of the right hono^{rble} James Late Earle of Derby Lord of ye said Isle, at which tyme the said Willm. Christian assumed the power unto himself in becominge y^e head of y^e said insurrecon, & depriving his Lopp and his Lopp & heyres thereof by y^t means, And therefore the said Jurors doe Indite him y^e s^d William Christian of Treason.

GAOL DELIVERY, Nov. 26, 1662.

Cur gaol deliburis tent apud Castr. de Rushen vicessim sexto die Novembr Ano Domini 1662; Cora Richard Stevenson Armiger deput locu; tent hujus Insul Thom. Norris Judic Rich. Tyldesley Comptroll et Cler Rotul Rich. Calcott Aquaballe Hugon Cannell Attornatus dni et all officiar tunc et ibm p sentibus.

Noia Jurat impanell ad inquired de felon de Treason et all malefact ut sequit. } *Note.*—The Prisoner refused to abide his tryall at Barr according to the law and custome of the country therefore noe occasion to ympannell a Jury.

Ad hanc cur venit Gulielm Christiann nup de Raynolds-way generos Indict de Treason p sacram^t sex legal homin in presen Coron leg Rushen Sheading Cora deput Locu tent Justic et tot cur ut in hoc libso ante pat unde p^{rds} Willm Christian Commiss fuit infra Castr p^{rds} et ab inde ductus est ad hanc cur.

M^m. That the style of the Court and this forme for to receyve his tryall uppon arraignm^t being drawne accordinge to usuall Custome, in expectacon of the pson^{rs} appearance att the bar, Captayne Henry Nowell Governor of the s^d Castle in whose custodie and charge the said prisoner remayneth, being together wth Mr. Hugh Cannell the Lords Attorney Comanded by the Court with a guard of soldiers to require him to the Barr to receyve his tryall, hee refused and denyed to come to abide the Law, whereuppon the deputie Gov^r demandinge the Law of the Deemster Norris who then sate in judicacon (Deemster John Christian having not appeared, & M^r Edward Christian his sone and assistant having also forborne to sitt in this Court) he the said Deemster Norris craved the advise & assistance of the 24 Keyes then p^rsented (uppon psep^{ts} for their conveyinge least

there should bee any obstruccon in the proceedinge) which was granted in order to antient custome in this Isle uppon or in doubtfull cases, whereuppon the said Deemster & 24 Keyes have deemed the law therein, to witt that the said Willm Christian is att the mercy of the Lord of the Isle for liffe and goods, as by the annexed may appeare.

M^r. DEEMSTER NORRIS.

The proposicon referred to the consideracon of your Selfe and the gentlemen of the 24 Keyes now called to your assistance, is this, To declare under your hands, what the lawe deemes against any pson indited for any maner of cryme of what nature soever and refuseth or denyeth to come to the barr, for to receive his tryall or abide the law of y^r Islande.

RICH. STEVENSON.

26th Nov. 1662.

The Law in this case deemes such a pson to be in y^e Mercy of y^e Lord for life & Goods, as we finde by ancient Records.

THO. NORRIS DEEM.

ROB^t. QUAILE.

JO. GARRETT.

THO. FFLETCHER.

WILLIAM QUAILLE.

ROB^t. CALCOTT.

JOHN STANDISH.

THO. RATCLIFFE.

THO. CAINE.

JAMES MOORE.

THOS. BANKES.

SAM. RADCLIFFE.

DOLLIN CLARKE.

JO. CAINE.

JOHN LACE.

ROB^t. STEVENSONN.

THO. MOORE.

JO. NORRIS.

JOHN FFARGHER.

THOMAS CASMENT.

WM. CORLETT.

Castle Rushen, 29th December 1662.

Proposalls to the Deemsters & 24 Keyes of y^e Isle now assembled to be answered in point of Law.

Any malefactor (of what nature soever his cryme bee) being Indited and afterwards when hee should come to his tryall by arraynm^t, denieth to abide y^e law of y^e countrey in that course (notwithstanding any argument or plea hee cann make or offer for himselfe) And thereuppon deemed to forfeit body & goods at y^e Lords p^lease, whether or noe may such a malefactor bee admitted or ought to obtaine y^e same benefitt of tryall afterwards by a grand Jurey for life & death?

In case such a malefactor may not have y^e after benefitt or admittance of tryall, whether may or ought not y^e Deemsters or y^e one of them as propper to their places, Pronounce Sentence of death against y^e pson in such maner as y^e gilt or crime whereuppon hee was soe indited demeriteth accordinge to the nature and qualitie of itt?

If such a sentence (y^e case considered as before) be not legall or formall to bee given for want of tryall & verdict by a grand jury, Then after what maner & and in what place, must or ought y^e same properly be denounced or declared?

Whether is y^e prerogative of y^e Lord of this Isle by his laws & constitucons, sufficient and warrantable for y^e Deemsters only or y^e one of them to give sentence of death against such a malefactor upon his deniall, refusall or contempt of the Laws in maner as abovesaid, And in what place and after what maner ought or should y^e same bee pronounced as afforesaid?

If y^e Deemsters doe not pronounce sentence of law against such a mallafactor, then by whome is the same to be done & in what maner.

HEN. NOWELL.

Att Castle Rushen this 29th of Decemb^r 1662.

In humble obedience & observance to y^e annexed propositions wee declare our opinions & Judgm^{ts} therein & thereunto in point of law as followeth.

1. To y^e first wee answer that any malefactor onc't indited and afterwards refusinge or denyinge y^e law by not apeareinge at y^e barr to receive his tryall by arraignm^t may not be admitted or ought not to obtayne y^e same benefitt of tryall afterwards except it bee by the spetiall favour of y^e Lord of this Isle;

2, 3, 4, 5. To these propositions wee answer in Gen^lall maner, That any malefactor refusinge or denyinge the law as afforesaid & therefore deemed to bee at y^e Lord's mercy for body and goods at his hono^{rs} pleasure, is to receive his doome & sentence for life or death as pleaseth the Gov^rn^r or Deputy Gov^rn^r of this Isle to order such a malefactor unto, both for y^e maner & place & hould the same properly to bee pronounced by the Deemsters or the one of them in due obedience of such his honors or Gov^rn^rs or Deputy Gov^rn^{rs} pleasure, and that a sentence soe pronounced is authenticke, & firme in law in order to his honors p^rrogatives in this Isle.

THO. NORRIS Deemster.	JOHN STANDISH.
HUGH CANNELL Deemster.	WM. CORLETT.
ROB ^t . QUAILE.	THO. CASEMENT.
THO. FFLETCHER.	JOHN FFARGHER.
THO. MOORE.	THOMAS HUDDLESTON.
ROBT. CALCOTT.	JOHN TAUBMAN.
THO. BANKES.	THO. WOODS.
THO. RADCLIFFE.	WM. CHRISTIAN.
JAMES MOORE.	WILL. CAINE.
ROBT. STEVENSON.	WILL. CORLETT.
THO. HUDDLESTON.	JOHN MOORE.
JOHN NORRIS.	CHARLES STANLEY.
THO. CAINE.	

ORDER for the REMOVAL of SEVEN of the KEYS.

29th Decemb. 1662, at Castle Rushen.

These of y^e 24 Keyes are removed of y^t company in reference to my hon^{ble} lords Order in y^t behalfe, viz. M^r. Edw. Christian, Ewan Curghe, Sam. Radcliffe, Dollin Clarke, W^m. Gawne, Jo. Cayne & ferd Lace,¹ for whose places are sworne Capt. Tho. Woods of K German, W^m. Cayne, Ballagawne in KK Michael, W^m. Xtin als Jo. Aig in K Bryde, Capt. Jo. Moore of y^e How in K Santon, Jo. Taubman Bowlingreene in K Malew, Tho. Huddlestone Jun^r of Ballacott in y^t Pish., W^m. Curleod, Cleanagh, Trinit. Ayre. And in y^e place of M^r. W^m. Quayle who now is sworne Attorney, there is placed Lieut. Tho. Huddlestone of Douglas, and soe y^e number stands thus,—

The 24 Keyes.

ROBT. QUAYLE.	THO. CASTEMT.
THO. FFLETCHER.	JAMES MOORE.
JOHN GARRETT.	WM. CURLEOD
THO. BANCES.	<i>Glantraman.</i>
THO. MOORE.	LIEUT. THO. HUDDLESTONE Douglas.
THO. RADCLIFFE.	THO. HUDDLESTONE Junr.
JO. FFARGHER.	JO. TAUBMAN Bowlingreen.
ROBT. CALCOTT.	THO. WOODS German.
CHA. STANLEY.	WM. CAYNE Ballagaune.
RO. STEVENSEN.	WM. XTIN JO. AIG.
JO. STANDISH.	JOHN MOORE How K Santon.
JO. NORRIS.	WM. CURLEOD, Clannagh
THO. CAYNE.	<i>Trinit. Ayre.</i>

¹ These 7 Keys, here removed by order of the *then* Earl of Derby, it will be remembered from the evidence herein set forth, took an active part in the rising of the Country in 1651, and against the Lady of Man, and in favour of the English Commonwealth.

No. IX.

The LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR'S ORDER for the DEEMSTERS to pronounce Sentence of Death upon WILLIAM CHRISTIAN.

Castle Rushen, 31st Decemb^r 1662.

MR. DEEMSTERS,

fforasmuch as yourselves & the 24 Keys have enabled me to declare the maner of death touching the prissoner now at Barr and the place alsoe, And that such doome and sentence as I shall make known unto you, is prime and authenticke in Law, I doe therefore comand & require you or the one of you to pronounce the sentence of death unto & against him the said prisoner, And to lett him understand that hee stands guilty of most notorious treason comitted in the yeare 1651, which demeritts in the strictness of law, a most haynues & ignominious death, being hanged & quartered & his head smitten of, & afterwards drawn wth wild horses, and y^e quarters of his body severed & sett one on one of the Towers of this Castle, and soe in the sev'all markett townes as is recorded in an ancient Statute of this Isle for Treason, Nevertheless, upon the earnest peticōn of his wife & consideracōn of her very disconsolate condition, I have thought fitt, And so require and order you to pronounce for sentence (usinge such accustomed fforme as apperteynes to a sentence) that hee bee brought to the place of execution called Hango Hill, and there Shott to death that thereuppon his liffe may departe from his bodie.

HEN. NOWELL.¹

¹ Capt. Henry Nowell, younger son of Roger Nowell of Read, Esq., by his second wife, Catherine Hyde of Hyde and Norbury. He was Deputy-Governor of the Isle of Man when Wm. Christian was tried, and ordered sentence upon him.

Att Castle Rushen, 31st Decemb^r 1662.

M^m.

That this day W^m. Christian late of Raynoldsway & prisoner in y^e s^d Castle came to y^e publique barr wth a guard of soldiers, And there according to y^e purport of the right hon^{ble} y^e Lord of y^e Isle his order in y^t behalfe & y^e p^rceedinges of y^e Court by y^e Deemsters & 24 Keyes hereunto annexed, y^e words of sentence under y^e Gov^rn's hand in y^e conclusive pte thereof was pronounced by the Deemster¹ wth a formall & patheticall speech touchinge y^e nature of y^e misdemeano^r y^e formd abillity of y^e prisoner & his present condicōn, wth recitall of y^e proceedings (w^{ch} before in this booke are recorded, and all this in a full Court before y^e Officers Civill and Millitary, y^e 24 Keyes & divers of the Countrey being then present.

No. X.

The LAST SPEECH of WILLIAM CHRISTIAN, Esq., who was
Executed 2d January 1662-3.

GENTLEMEN, and the rest of you who have accompanied me this day to the gate of death.—I know you expect I should say something at my departure; and indeed I am in some measure willing to satisfy you, having not had the least liberty, since my imprisonment, to acquaint any with the sadness of my sufferings, which flesh and blood could not have endured, without the power and assistance of my most gracious and good God, into whose hands I do now commit my poor soul, not doubting but that I shall very quickly be in the arms of His mercy.

¹ Thomas Norris, Deemster 1660, sat as Judge, and delivered sentence of death on William Christian, 31st December 1662. Deemster John Christian did not appear, and Edward Christian his son and assistant did not sit in Court.

*He had been removed & executed by the same
and p 52*

I am, as you now see, hurried hither by the power of a pretended court of justice, the members whereof, or at least the greatest part of them, are by no means qualified, but very ill befitting their new places. The reasons you may give yourselves.

The cause for which I am brought hither, as the prompted and threatened jury has delivered, is high treason against the Countess Dowager of Derby, for that I did, as they say, in the year fifty-one, raise a force against her for the suppressing and rooting out that family. How unjust the accusation is, very few of you that hear me this day but can witness; and that the then rising of the people, in which afterwards I came to be engaged, did not at all, or in the least degree, intend the prejudice or ruin of that family; the chief whereof being, as you well remember, dead eight days or thereabout, before that action happened. But the true cause of that rising, as the jury did twice bring in, was to present grievances to our Honourable Lady; which was done by me, and afterwards approved by her Ladyship, under the hand of her then secretary, M. Trevach, who is yet living, which agreement hath since, to my own ruin, and my poor family's endless sorrow, been forced from me. The Lord God forgive them the injustice of their dealings with me, and I wish from my heart it may not be laid to their charge another day.

You now see me here a sacrifice ready to be offered up for that which was the preservation of your lives and fortunes, which were then in hazard, but that I stood between you and your (then in all appearance) utter ruin. I wish you still may, as hitherto, enjoy the sweet benefit and blessing of peace, though from that minute until now I have still been prosecuted and persecuted, nor have I ever since found a place to rest myself in. But my God be for ever blessed and praised, who hath given me so large a measure of patience!

What services I have done for that noble family by whose power I am now to take my latest breath, I dare appeal to themselves, whether I have not deserved better things from some of them than the sentence of my bodily destruction, and seizure of the poor estate my son ought to enjoy, being purchased and left him by his grandfather. It might have been much better had I not spent it in the service of my Honourable Lord of Derby and his family, these things I need not mention to you, for that most of you are witnesses to it. I shall now beg your patience while I tell you here in the presence of God, that I never in all my life acted anything with intention to prejudice my sovereign lord the king, nor the late Earl of Derby, nor the now Earl; yet notwithstanding, being in England at the time of his sacred Majesty's happy restoration, I went to London with many others, to have a sight of my gracious king, whom God preserve, and whom until then I never had seen. But I was not long there when I was arrested upon an action of twenty thousand pounds, and clapped up in the Fleet; unto which action, I being a stranger, could give no bail, but was there kept nearly a whole year. How I suffered God he knows; but at last having gained my liberty, I thought good to advice with several gentlemen concerning his Majesty's gracious Act of Indemnity, that was then set forth, in which I thought myself concerned; unto which they told me, there was no doubt to be made that all actions committed in the Isle of Man, relating in any kind to the war, were pardoned by the Act of Indemnity, and all other places within his Majesty's dominions and countries. Whereupon, and having been forced to absent myself from my poor wife and children near three years, being all that time under persecution, I did with great content and satisfaction return into this Island, hoping then to receive the comfort and sweet enjoyment of my friends and poor

family. But alas ! I have fallen into the snare of the fowler, but my God shall ever be praised,—though he kill me, yet will I trust in him.

I may justly say no man in this Island knows better than myself the power the Lord Derby hath in this Island, subordinate to his sacred Majesty, of which I have given a full account in my declaration presented to my judges, which I much fear will never see light, which is no small trouble to me.

It was his Majesty's most gracious Act of Indemnity gave me the confidence and assurance of my safety ; on which, and an appeal I made to his sacred Majesty and Privy Council, from the unjustness of the proceedings had against me, I did much rely, being his Majesty's subject here, and a denizen of England both by birth and fortune. And in regard I have disobeyed the power of my Lord of Derby's Act of Indemnity, which you now look upon, and his Majesty's Act cast out as being of no force, I have with greater violence been persecuted ; yet, nevertheless, I do declare that no subject whatever can or ought to take upon them acts of indemnity but his sacred Majesty only, with the confirmation of Parliament.

It is very fit I should say something as to my education and religion. I think I need not inform you, for you all know, I was brought up a son of the Church of England, which was at that time in her splendour and glory ; and to my endless comfort I have ever since continued a faithful member,—witness several of my actions in the late times of liberty. And as for government, I never was against monarchy, which now, to my soul's great satisfaction, I have lived to see is settled and established. I am well assured that men of upright life and conversation may have the favourable countenance of our gracious king, under whose happy government God of his infinite mercy long continue

these his kingdoms and dominions. And now I do most heartily thank my good God that I have had so much liberty and time to disburden myself of several things that have laid heavy upon me all the time of my imprisonment, in which I have not had time or liberty to speak or write any of my thoughts; and from my soul I wish all animosity may after my death be quite laid aside, and my death by none be called in question, for I do freely forgive all that have had any hand in my persecution; and may our good God preserve you all in peace and quiet the remainder of your days.

Be ye all of you his Majesty's liege people, loyal and faithful to his sacred Majesty; and according to your oath of faith and fealty to my Honourable Lord of Derby, do you likewise, in all just and lawful ways, observe his commands; and know that you must one day give an account of all your deeds. And now the blessing of Almighty God be with you all, and preserve you from violent death, and keep you in peace of conscience all your days.

I will now hasten, for my flesh is willing to be dissolved and my spirit to be with God, who hath given me full assurance of his mercy and pardon for all my sins, of which his unspeakable goodness and loving kindness my poor soul is exceedingly satisfied.

Note.—Here he fell upon his knees, and passed some time in prayer; then rising exceedingly cheerful, he addressed the soldiers appointed for his execution, saying, Now for you, who are appointed by lot my executioners, I do freely forgive you. He requested them and all present to pray for him, adding, There is but a thin veil betwixt me and death; once more I request your prayers, for now I take my last farewell.

The soldiers wished to bind him to the spot on which he stood. He said, Trouble not yourselves or me, for I that dare face death in whatever form he comes, will not start at your fire and bullets, nor can the power you have deprive me of my courage. At his desire a piece of white paper was given him, which, with the utmost composure,

he pinned to his breast, to direct them where to aim ; and after a short prayer addressed the soldiers thus,—Hit this, and you do your own and my work ; and presently after, stretching forth his arms, which was the signal he gave them, he was shot through the heart and fell.

N.B.—The above note is annexed to the copies of the printed speech which appeared in a broadside in the year 1776, one hundred and thirteen years after Christian's death.

The following entry is in the parish register of Malew :—"Mr. William Christian of Ronaldsway, late Receiver, was shott to death att Hangoe Hill, the 2nd of January (1662). He died most penitently and most curragiously, made a good end, prayed earnestly, made an excellent speech, and the next day was buried in the chancel of Malew."

It has been said that blankets were spread on the green under his feet, that not a drop of blood should be spilt when he fell ; others, again, assert that not a drop of Christian's blood issued from his wounds when he fell, but that he bled inwardly. Of the file of soldiers who were drawn out for the duty, one only took effect, that of William M'Cowle, and who is reported to have been rewarded with a grant of land in the north of the Island for doing his duty ; this has been recorded in the following Manx distich :—

"Lhigg fer ayns y Thalloo fereley 'syn ae,
Agh Illiam M'Cowle lhigg'sy voayl chair.
Illiam M'Cowle sliught ny va büee :
She dty vaase, Illiam Dhône, ren brishey nyn gree."

It has been surmised by some that Christian's speech has been the composition of some friend at a much later date than that at which it was said to have been delivered, at least the major part of it. Be that as it may, it is here given from the printed broadside of 1776, and that is said to have been taken from a copy preserved in the family of a clergyman, but no such copy is now known to be in existence.



COPIES OF STATE PAPERS
IN THE
PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON,
RELATING TO WILLIAM CHRISTIAN.

—♦—
No. XI.

STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC. Charles II., Vol. lxvii. No. 33.

*Petition of William Christian to the King and Council.*¹

To the King's most Excellent Majestie and the Lords of his
Majestie's most Honor^{ble} Privy Councell.

The humble Petition of WILLIAM CHRISTIAN Gentleman.

Sheweth—That yo^r Petitioner haveing some part of his estate in Lancashire and other part in the Isle of Mann, about Michaelmas last went into the said Island and was soone after there Imprisoned by order of the Earle of Darby, where he soe still continues, and hath been lately called to a Tryall there for his life for Treason upon pretence that in 1651 he assembled the Inhabitants of the said Island in opposition to the now Countesse Dowager of Darby (which if true) as the same is not, yet the same being in relation to the warrs yo^r Petitioner is advised by Councell that the same is pardoned by y^r Ma^{ty}s gracious Act of Indempnity, wherein yo^r Petitioner is not a person excepted from pardon,

¹ The Petition was received in Council January 8th, but Christian had been shot on the 2d January. There is no date to this Petition.

nor hath at any time since the 24th of June 1660 or before acted anything against yo^r Ma^{tie} or Government.

That yo^r Petitioner hath appealed to be tryed by yo^r Ma^{ty} Lawes of England where he many years lived and hath an Estate, but it was refused. And for as much as the said proceedings are without President and contrary to the Lawes within the said Island

He most humbly prayeth the benefit of the Lawes of England, and in order thereunto That yo^r Ma^{tie} will be graciously pleased to command his being brought before yo^r Ma^{tie} and hono^{ble} Councell, and that if anything can be objected against him which is not pardoned that he may have a tryall according to the known Lawes of this kingdome,

And yo^r Pet^r shall ever pray &c.

No. XII.

At y^e Court at Whitehall, Jan^y 12th 1663 $\frac{3}{4}$.

His Ma^{ty} is graciously pleased to referre the consideracōn of this Peticon to M^r. Attorney & M^r. Solicito^r or either of them, who are to examine what is therein alleadged & then to report to his Ma^{ty}, what they conceive just & fitt for his Ma^{ty} to do in it for yo^r Peticon^{rs} satisfaction Upon which his Ma^{ty} will declare his further pleasure

HENRY BENNET.

May it Please yo^r Ma^{tie}

In obedience to yo^r Ma^{ties} Reference on this Peticōn I have considered thereof and doe humbly conceiue that the Peticon^r is legally capable of yo^r M^{ties} grace & favo^r both to comand that hee be brought upp to be heard before yo^r

Ma^{tie} and Councell and also for Pardoning his offence if yo^r
Ma^{tie} shalbe soe Pleased—Which is humbly Submitted &^c

G. PALMER.

12^o Jan. 1662.

On the right hand margin of the Petition appears
Peticon of William Christian Rec^d 9th Jan. 1662.

[The above Petition and Reference is entered in the Entry Book,
vol. xiii. p. 202.]

No. XIII.

STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC. Entry Book, Car. II., Vol. ix.
p. 227.

[January 16th, 1662-3.]

The King to the Earl of Derby to bring up W^m Christian.

Whereas Wee have bin lately informed by y^e Peticon of
W^m Christian gent. that you have imprisoned him in our
Isle of Man and condemned him to suffer Death upon pre-
tence of Treason w^{ch} Peticon Wee have referred to our
learned Councell in y^e Law who have certified us that y^e
Pet^r is legally capable of our grace and favou^r w^{ch} may
extend to Pardon him if Wee shall be so graciously pleased.
Our Will and Pleasure is, that uppon sight hereof you cause
him to be brought up to be heard before us and our Coun-
cell, touching the matters wherewith he is charged, where-
upon Wee will declare Our further pleasure as shal be just
and reasonable.

To y^e E. of
Derby for
sending up
W^m Chris-
tian to be
heard
before his
Ma^{ty} &
Councell.

Given at our Court at Whitehall the 16th day of January
in y^e 14th yeare of our reigne.

No. XIV.

STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC. Cha^s. II., Vol. lxvii. No. 83.*The Earl of Derby to Secretary Bennet.*

S^r—Upon fryday last I gave a further Accompt concerninge Darrow's informacōn to M^r. Deane of S^t. Paul's w^{ch} I hope you have ere this seen & upon that & the first I sent to you of that affaire I humbly *desire your Directions* both as to the persons to witt M^r. Robert Yates (late Minister of Wanington) John Nayler Richard Niccolls Richard Worrall & Robert Jouchit as also to any thinge else you shall judge pertinent thereunto, & to all your Comands I shall be ready to yield a cheerful obedience to the best of my skill.

As to what concernes the information given to the Duke of Albemarle I can make noe further discovery in it & so can give no further account concerneinge it.

Pardon me S^r the trouble you receive here in a concerne of my owne concerneinge one Christian who I heare (in his life time for hee is condemned & executed by the Lawes of the Island of Mann) made his applications to the King to evade the justice of that Island; his case in short was this, when my father came into England in 1651 to meet the Kinge according to his Majesties Commands this Christian being then in the Island rebelled & constrained my Mother (who my Lord my father left Governesse) to surrender up that Isle to the Parliam^t & for this hee had no Commission neither from any of the Illegall Powers wch might render the Act of Indempnity beneficiall to him if that place had been comprehended in the Act of Indempnity wch I conceave it is not, because the Act of Indemnity makes noe mention of that place & I hope the enclosed will prove this my Affection & If so I humbly beg of you your assistance that his Majestie will be pleased not to take from me that

wch my Ancestors & I have enjoyed by the guift of our Gracious Kings (& that confirmed by Acts of Parliament) ever since the 7th yeare of Kinge Henry the fourth. And now in the last place give me leave to renew my Request concerneing those Gentlemen—S^r Edward Moseley—M^r. Preston of Hooker & M^r. W^m. Bankes of Winstanley to be my Deputy Lieutenants for this Countie of Lancashire for whome I should be asham'd to presse were I not assured both of their integrities & abilityes to doe his Ma^{ties} service.

Your favour herein will very much oblige, S^r your aff^t
humble servant, DERBY.

Lathom the 20th January 166 $\frac{2}{3}$.

Directed.

For the R^t hon^{ble} S^r Henry Benett
Principall Secretary of State
London.

Endorsed.

Earl of Derby.
R 24th Jan. 20 6 $\frac{2}{3}$
concerning Darrow &c.
Christian condemned & executed there.

S^r Edw. Moseley Preston
& Bankes to be added
to his Deputy Lieuten^{ts}.
Answ^d Jan^y 27th.

No. XV.

STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC. Cha^a. II., Vol. lxvii. No. 150.

*Petition of Ewan Christian, son of W^m. Christian, to the
King and Council.*

To the Kings most Excell^t Ma^{tie} and the Lords of his Ma^{ties}
most honorable Privy Councell.

The humble Peticon of Ewan Christian Sonne to
youre Ma^{ties} late Petitioner William Christian.

Sheweth,—That your Ma^{tie} was gratusly pleased upon
yo^r Pet^{rs} fathers Peticon to grant a Warrant to the Earle of
Derby for the bringing upp his said father to be try'd by
the knowne Lawes of this Kingdome before your Ma^{tie} and
your hono^{ble} Privy Councell but that day on which the
Warrant was seal'd your Peticoner received the certaine
Newes of his fathers untimely and innocent death who
(without either having the benefitt of your Ma^{ties} gratus
Act of Indemnity which hath not beene valued by them or
an Appeale which hee made to y^r Ma^{tie}) was condemned by
the Verdict of six¹ Ignorant and Illeterate Men, three of
them being the Earles owne Soldiers and now underpay and
most of them not understanding English or the Law of that
place And your Peticon^{rs} said ffather was thereupon forcibly
carried away to the place of his Execution and there against
all Law president or former example did shoote him to
death the second day of this instant month of Januury.

That they have now taken fower more of your Ma^{ties}
Subjects viz^t M^r. Evan Curghy M^r. Jo. Ceasar M^r. William
Qualtrough and Mr. Samuell Ratcliffe clapt them into
Prison and seized all their Goods and Estates who do dayly

¹ See the decision of the Deemster and twenty Keys of the 26th November
1662, also of the 29th December 1662, as to the legality of the sentence.

expect the like if your Ma^{tie} be not gratioſly pleaſed to ſend a ſpeedy Order for the prevention thereof.

Your Pet^r therefore moſt humbly prayes yo^r Ma^{tie} for Chriſt his ſake That thoſe perſons who have beene the Judges and Jurors upon that tryall of his father as alſoe their proceedings may be brought upp before your Ma^{tie} to give an Accompt of their ſaid proceedings and of the life of your Peticoners ſaid father. And that the Execu^cō of the aforeſaid fower perſons now priſoners & condemned may be ſuperseded till youre Ma^{tie} heare the Cauſe and give further order therein.

And as in duty bound yo^r Pet^r ſhall pray &c.

No. XVI.

STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC. Charles II., Vol. lxxvii. No. 150, I.

The names of thoſe Pſons that ſate in Judgment upon the Life & death of Will. Chriſtian Gent.¹

CAPT. RICHARD STEVENSON of Baladoole.

CAP^T. HENRY HOWELL.

CAP^T. ROB^T. CALCOTTS.

CAP^T. W^M. HUDELSTON.

LIEUT. ROB^T. QUAYLE.

ENSIGN JOHN NORRIS.

THOMAS NORRIS Deemſter.

RICH. TILDESLEY Controulr.

RICH. CALCOTTS Waterbayliff.

FARDINANDO CALCOTTS Steward.

HUGH CANNELL Atturney.

W^M. QUAYLE Meſſenger from the Earle of Derby.

¹ Theſe names do not correſpond with thoſe who ſat in judgment on William Chriſtian. See copy of the Records 26th November and 29th December, 1662.

The names of the Jury that passed upon him.¹

PETER ROBINSON Weaver.	WILL. WATTELFORD Cobler.
RICHARD HALLSELL Cobler.	JOHN COTTER Dyer.
ROB ^t . SHIMMING Cobler.	THOM ^s . CLARK Mountenier.

Endorsed.

The Peticon of
Ewan Christian of
the Isle of Man.

No. XVII.

STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC. Car. II., Vol. lxviii. No. 84.

William Christian to Joseph Williamson, Esq.

Deare S^r—I am now gott heather but have not yett seene yo^r Brother George but Intend the next weeke to see him at his owne house what servis you have for mee in these parts shall very faythfully be performed by mee who you have by yo^r many cevelletyes and favours exceedingly obliged. I doubt not but by this you have gott my Lord of Derbys returne in answer to his Majestyes Lettar. I have greate hope his Lordship will aquit himselfe very well and leave those whoe are his Law guidars theré to answer there owne actions which are beyond all that ever yett was putt in practise. I beseech you S^r that when it is moved that those his Judges and Jurors bee sent for up that yo^r assistan^{ce} will not bee wantinge in dispatchinge the Messenger if you will honor mee with a Line at yo^r spare tyme and lett mee know yo^r thoughts you will Infenitely oblige him whoe you have by yo^r many favours made for ever, S^r yo^r most faythfull servant,

WILLIAM CHRISTIAN.

Carlisle this 19th of ffeb. 1662.

¹ These were the six Jurors who found on the Indictment, November 13, 1662.

Directed.

Theese

For his truly Honord FriendJoseph Williamson, Esq^{re}att Whitehall p^rsent3^d London.*Endorsed.*19th Febr. 166 $\frac{3}{4}$ R 26thW^m. Christianconcerning yee Ea. Derbys proceedings in y^e Isle of Man.

No. XVIII.

STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC. Car. II., Vol. lxxiii. No. 76.

Warrant to apprehend Henry Nowell, Governor, and others.

Whereas upon the complaint of George Christian of the Isle of Man made to this Board touching violent proceedings against W^m Christian (his father) upon w^{ch} he was Condemned & putt to death this Board was pleased to comaund Richard Stevenson Thomas Norris Robert Callcott & Hugh Cannell of the said Island to appeare at this Board on the 13th of May instant to give an Accompt of their Proceedings therein And whereas the execucōn of the Order aforesaid was obstructed by Henry Nowell Governo^r of the Isle of Man and Richard Tyldesley Comptroller there & that the said Richard Stevenson Thomas Norris Robert Callcot & Hugh Cannell have neglected to render obedience and appeare as by Our said Order was comaunded These are to authorise and comaund you forthwith to repayre unto his Ma^{ty} said Island of Man and there or wheresoever else you shall finde the Persons as well of the said Henry Nowell Governour of the Isle of Man aforesaid & Richard Tyldesley Comptroller there, as also of the said Major Callcot Richard

Stevenson Thomas Norris & Hugh Cannell and them & every of them to apprehend & take & in safe custody to keepe, and in y^r company to bring before us to answer their & every of their misdemeano^{rs} & contempts and such other matters as shall be objected against them; And for the more speedy and effectuall execution of this Our Warrant, We do hereby will and require all and every his Ma^{ty} Justices of Peace Majors Sherifs Bayliffs Constables and all others his Ma^{ty} Officers both Civill & Military & all Inhabitants of the said Island & all Comaunders & Masters of shippes passage boates or other vessells and their shippes companyes upon their allegiance to be ayding and assisting unto you as they tender the furtherance of his Ma^{ty} Service & will answer the contrary at their perills; for all which this shall be as well unto them & every of them as unto you sufficient Warrant.—Given at Whitehall, &c.

[18th May 1663.]

(*Without endorsement.*)

No. XIX.

STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC. Charles II., Vol. lxxiv. No. 16.

Earl of Derby to Secretary Bennet.

Sir—Being enformed that his Majesty is pleased to commaund that Major Henry Nowell M^r Thomas Norris M^r Hugh Cannell M^r Pichard Stevenson M^r Tyldesley & Major Robert Colcott be sent for up to appeare before the Councell I shall take care that they shall come up & therefore desire a suspension of the order. I shall use all expedition herein & I desire you wilbe pleased to consider that the sea is to be twice crossed this is all the trouble you shall receave from S^r y^r humble servant,

DERBY.

Derby House the 21st May 1663.

Directed.

For the right ho^{ble}
 S^r Henry Bennett
 Principal Secretary of State.

No. XX.

STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC. Charles II., Vol. lxxv. No. 106.

*Earl of Derby to Secretary Bennet respecting Sir Jefferey St.
 Johns, etc.*

S^r—In obedience to your commands I was at Whitehall to give you an account of the person named in the letter I left with you, upon diligent inquiry by two of my servants severally (& one of them was at the three anchors) they can heare of noe S^r Jefferey S^t Johns, but of one S^r Water S^t Johns they doe who lives at Battersea, having given you this account (w^{ch} I endeavoured to doe personally) I have noe more to say but that I am S^r y^r humble Servant,

DERBY.

Derby House, 22 Jun. 1663.

I shall humbly desire his Majesty's commands concerning Geo. Christian as also the dismission of these persons here in towne (if his Majesty thinke good) whose presence in the Island will very much secure the peace thereof & allegiance to the King.

Addressed.

To the right ho^{ble} S^r
 Henry Bennett Principall
 Secretary of State
 These

*Endorsed.*22nd June 1663 R 22

Ea. Derby.

No. XXI.

STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC. Charles II., Vol. lxxv. No. 106, I.

Intercepted Letter from George Christian.

Honored Sir—I shall bee breife and tell you that as I did informe your businesse would fall out in the Isle soe it doth, if I had any confidence in the bearer I would discover more but I hope what was promised will be performed, the rest is that I am yo^r devoted & obedient frend,

GEO. CHRISTIAN.

Date Castletowne the 9^o of June 1663.

Postscript.—There is One Major Thomas Stanley that was sent over by M^r. Jones & that sent him a ship board & by my Lord of Darby's order.

The Superscription.—For his highly esteemed frend Sir Jephara S^t Johnes, leave this at the 3 Anchors in Milke Street & deliver it with yo^r owne hands from Geo. Christian.

Indorsed.

Intercepted Lre.

Ea. Derby.

No. XXII.

STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC. Car. II., Vol. lxxv. No. 107.

Earl of Derby to Secretary Bennet.

S^r—Since I gave you the trouble of my last by Major Henry Nowell I have this further account to give that the bearer hereof (whose name is Roper) has been at the three anchors in Milke Streete where pretending to come from George Christian he spoake to the prentice of the shopp (the Master of the shopp his name is Walton) & told him hee came with a special message from the said Geo. Christian

whereupon the prentice smiled upon his naming S^r Geofferey S^t. Jones but denied he knew any such person but said George Christian's brother would be at that house this night.

This I thought fitt to acquaint you with-all this night, I am, S^r y^r humble Servant,

DERBY.

Derby House 22th June 1663.

Addressed.

For the right ho^{ble} S^r Henry Bennett
Principall Secretary of State
These.

No. XXIII.

STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC. Car. II., Entry Book, Vol. xv.,
page 70.

Warrant to apprehend Evan Christian.

June 23^d 1663.

A Warr^t to John Willson to apprehend y^e person of Christian Even Christian to answer to such things as shall be objected ^{appre-}hended.
ags^t him.

Dated June y^e 23^d 1663.

No. XXIV.

Warrant to release Evan Christian.

June 24th 1663.

These are in his Ma^{ties} name to require you forthwith to A Warrant
discharge and sett at liberty the person of Evan Christian ^{for Evan}
now in your costody For w^h this shall be your Warrant. ^{Christian}
^{to be}
^{released.}

Given at ye Court at Whitehall y^e 24 day of June 1663.

H. B.

To John\Willson, Messenger.

No. XXV.

STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC. Charles II., Vol. lxxv. No. 92.

*Orders in Council respecting William Christian's Case
and Others.*

At the Court at Whitehall the 5th of August 1663.

George Christian son and heir of William Christian deceased having exhibited his Complaint to His Majesty in Council That his Father being at a house of his in His Majesties Isle of Man was imprisoned by certain persons of that Island pretending themselves to a Court of Justice That he was by them accused of High Treason pretended to be committed against the Countess Dowager of Derby in the year 1651 And that they thereupon proceeded to Judgement and caused him to be put to death notwithstanding the Act of General Pardon and Indemnity (whereof he claimed the benefit) and his Appeal to His Majesty and humbly imploring His Majestie's princely compassion towards the distressed widow and seven fatherless children of the deceased, His Majesty was graciously pleased with the Advice of His Council to Order That Thomas Norris and Hugh Cannell the two Judges (by them in that Island called Deemsters) and Richard Stevenson Robert Colcott and Richard Tildesley three of the Members of the pretended Court of Justice and Henry Nowell Deputy Governour of the said Island should be forthwith sent for and brought up by a Sergeant at Arms here before His Majesty in Council to appear and answer to such accusations as should be exhibited against them, which said six persons being accordingly brought hither I the fifteenth day of July last appointed for a full hearing of the whole business the Earl of Derby then also summoned to appear and the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench and the Lord Chief Baron of His

Majesties Exchequer with the King's Counsel learned in the Lawes required to be present and all parties called in with their Counsel and Witnesses After full hearing of the whole matter on both sides and the parties withdrawn the said Judges being desired to deliver their opinion did (in presence of the King's Counsel Learned in the Lawes) declare, That the Act of General Pardon and Indempnity did and ought to be understood to extend into the Isle of Man as well as into any other of His Majesty's Dominions and Plantations beyond the Seas And that being a Publique General Act of Parliament it ought to have been taken notice of by the Judges in the Isle of Man although it had not been pleaded and although there were no Proclamation made thereof His Majesty being therefore deeply sensible of this great violation of His Act of General Pardon whereof His Majesty hath always been very tender and doth expect and require that all His Subjects in all His Dominions and Plantations shall enjoy the full benefit and advantage of the same And having this day taken this business into further consideration and all parties called in and heard did by and with the Advice of the Council Order and it is hereby Ordered That all persons anyway concerned in the seisure of the Estate of the said William Christian deceased or instrumental in the Ejection of the Widow and Children out of their houses and fortune do take care that intire Restitution be made of all the said Estate as well real as personal as also all damages sustained with full satisfaction for all profits by them received since the said Estate hath been in their hands And that Whereas the said William Christian deceased was one of the two lives remaining in an Estate in Lancashire That the detriment accrewing by the untimely death of the said William Christian therein or in like cases shall be estimated and in like manner fully repaired That in regard of the great trouble and charges the

Complaynants have been at in pursuit of this business Ordered That they do exhibit to this Board a true Accompt upon Oath of all Expenses and Damages by them sustained in the Journeys of themselves and Witnesses and of all other their Charges in the following of this business.

And whereas Ewan Curghey Samuel Radcliffe and John Cesar were by the same Court of Justice imprisoned and had their Estates seised and confiscated without any legal Trial It is ordered That the said Ewan Curghey Samuel Radcliffe and John Cesar be likewise restored to all their estates real and personal and fully repaired in all the Charges and Expences which they have been at since their first Imprisonment as well in the prosecution of this business or in their Journey thither or in any other way whatsoever thereunto relating the which Satisfaction Expences and all other sums of money to be raised by vertue of this Order are to be furnished by the Deemsters Members and Assistants of the said Court of Justice who are hereby Ordered to raise all such the said sums and thereof to make due payment and give full satisfaction unto the parties hereby appointed to receive it.

And to the end the guilt of that Bloud which hath been unjustly spilt may in some sort be expiated and His Majesty receive some kind of satisfaction for the untimely loss of a Subject It is Ordered That the said Thomas Norris and Hugh Cannell who decreed this violent death be committed and remain Prisoners in the King's Bench to be proceeded against in the ordinary course of Justice so to receive condign punishment according to the merit of so heinous a fact.

That Richard Stevenson Robert Colcott and Richard Tildesley be discharged from farther Restraint giving good security to appear at this Board whensoever summoned and not depart this city until full satisfaction shall be given and

all Orders of this Board whatsoever relating to this business fully executed in the Island.

And in regard that upon the Examination of this business it doth appear That Edward Christian being one of the Deemsters or Judges in the Isle of Man did when the Court refused to admit of the deceased William Christian's Plea of the Act of Indemnity make his Protestation against their Illegal Proceedings and did withdraw himself and came into England to sollicite His Majesty and implore his Justice It is Ordered That the Earl of Derby do forthwith by Commission in due and accustomed manner restore constitute and appoint the said Edward Christian one of the Deemsters or Judges of the said Island so to remain and continue in the due execution of the said place.

And lastly It is Ordered That the said Henry Nowell Deputy Governour (whose fault hath been the not complying with, and yielding due obedience to the Orders of His Majesty and this Board sent into the Island) giving good security to appear at this Board whensoever summoned be forthwith discharged from all farther Restraint and permitted to return into the Island and he is hereby strictly commanded to imploy the Power and Authority which by virtue of his Commission he hath in that Island in performance of and obedience to all Commands and Orders of His Majesty and this Board in this whole business or anyway relating thereunto.

Signed by

LORD CHANCELOUR.

LORD TREASURER.

LORD PRIVY-SEAL.

DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

EARL OF BERKSHIRE.

EARL OF CARBERY.

LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

LORD WENTWORTH.

LORD BERKELEY.

LORD ASHLEY.

SIR WILLIAM COMPTON.

M^r. TREASURER.

EARL OF ST ^r ALBAN.	M ^r . VICE CHAMBERLAIN.
EARL OF ANGLESEY.	M ^r . SECRETARY MORICE.
EARL OF SANDWICH.	M ^r . SECRETARY BENNET.
EARL OF BATHE.	
EARL OF MIDDLETON.	

RICHARD BROWNE,
Clerk of the Council.

No. XXVI.

STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC. Charles II., Vol. lxxv. No. 92.

Order in Council to print the Order of the 5th August 1663.

At the Court at Whitehall August the 14, 1663.

Present

The King's Most Excellent Majesty.

LORD CHANCELOUR.	EARL OF MIDDLETON.
LORD TREASURER.	EARL OF CARBERY.
LORD PRIVY-SEAL.	LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.
DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.	LORD WENTWORTH.
DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.	LORD BERKELEY.
LORD CHAMBERLAIN.	LORD ASHLEY.
EARL OF BERKSHIRE.	SIR WILLIAM COMPTON.
EARL OF ST ^r ALBAN.	M ^r . TREASURER.
EARL OF SANDWICH.	M ^r . VICE CHAMBERLAIN.
EARL OF ANGLESEY.	M ^r . SECRETARY MORICE.
EARL OF BATHE.	M ^r . SECRETARY BENNET.

To the end the World may the better take notice of His Majesties Royal Intention to observe the Act of Indempnity and General Pardon Inviolably for the Publique good and Satisfaction of all His Subjects It was this day Ordered That a Copy of the Order of this Board on the 5th instant

touching the illegal Proceedings in the Isle of Man against William Christian and putting him to death contrary to the said Act of General Pardon be sent unto His Majesties Printer who is commanded forthwith to Print the same in the English Letter in Folio in such manner as Acts of Parliament are usually printed and His Majesties Arms prefixed.

RICHARD BROWNE.

No. XXVII.

STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC. Charles II., Vol. lxxv. No. 80.

Sir Philip Musgrave to Joseph Williamson, Esq.

S^r—When I have nothing to send you from hence but my observations upon what you send me You may judge the condition of thes parts to keep at a stand not growing of late much better or worse. I have seen the Counsels order in my Lord of Darbies matter about the death of William Christian, a most unfortunate Servant to that Loyal Famely Whilst He lived His unparraleld trecherie brought the head of His Maister to the block & the ruine to His estate, not only in the Isle of Man but in England & reduced the noble Lady & her children famely & friends in that place to as miserable a condition as she could have and live, of all this I have certaine knowledge being upon the place & ingaged in the danger & loss and though this wrech be in His grave His Genius stanes that Famely occasioning new troubles, for w^h I am most hartely sorry. Considering that the former sufferings from an Enemy struck nothing so deep as the frounes of a Gracius Prince and the contempt of the now living Will Christian, a basterd & insignificant Fellow, who braggs He wil go to reside in the Isle of Man to balance the House of Darby I know He is no friend to Me or myne and the discovery of His nature so ungrateful to

the House from which He and all he pretends too have been servants & had their being wil hardly suffer me to be His, I pray you perdon Me if the unhappy sufferings of the House of Darby to w^h I have the honour to be related do somewhat transport Me and give you the trouble of knowing it from Y^r Humble Servant, P. M.

Addressed.

For Joseph Williamson, Esq^{re}.

Endorsed.

17 Sept 1663 R 25

S^r Ph. Mosgrave.

No. XXVIII.

STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC. Charles II., Vol. lxxxi. No. 81-1.

Earl of Derby to Secretary Bennet to Release the two Deemsters.

Ormskirke 13^o Oct. 1663.

S^r—I doe humbly thanke you for the honour of your Letter I this day receaved, having the allarum first from M^r. Copley & after from S^r John Armytage I thought my duty to putt the two Countys of Lancashire & Cheshire into posture of defense & in all things I shalbe ready to observe y^r commaunds. Yesterday in the afternoone I receaved a Letter from Coll. Nowell one of my Deputy Lieutenants for the County Polatine of Lancaster in w^{ch} Letter he sent me one he had receaved from Coll. Ambrose Pudsey a copie wherof I give you in thes paper as followeth verbatim.

S^r—This night I came from Yorke to Skipton & has orders to keepe my men together, these sixe dayes, the Duke of Buckingham is certainly at Yorke this night & the foote in the West Riding is up & if you acquaint my Lord of Derby as much it will not be a misse for Munday next is certainly designed the day to rise & they are soe fully

resolved of it that they rise though they be certaine to dy,
so it behoves all to have a care, the maine rising wilbe about
Bristol. I have not time to write you the discovery of the
designe but if you please to send either of your sons or
some Officer you can trust I shall lett you know all, soe I
ame Yrs faithfully to serve you, AM. PUDSEY.

Oct. 10, 1663.

As soon as I had receaved it I dispatch'd away to Coll.
Ambrose Pudsey, Coll. Nowell's son that serves me to desire
Coll. Pudsey to lett me know the uttermost of his Intelli-
gence to the end that if all be quiet I may dismissee the
three Regiments of foote & troupes of horse of this County
that the Country may be as little harrassed as may be. I
am alwayes much rejoiced when I receive your commaunds
& directions for then I cannot erre. I had intended a
journey this day for London to have followed my owne
businesse concerninge the two Manks Deemsters the terme
being now at hand, but I must preferre his Majesty's service
to my owne occasions alwayes & I hope I shall not be ever
a sufferer for serving my king.

If his Majesty would now at last be pleased to remitt
these two poore men from his displeasure & theire restraint
it would be a greate comfort to S^r Y^r very aff^o humble
servant DERBY.

I rely very much upon your goodnesse
& friendship to your servant, DERBY.

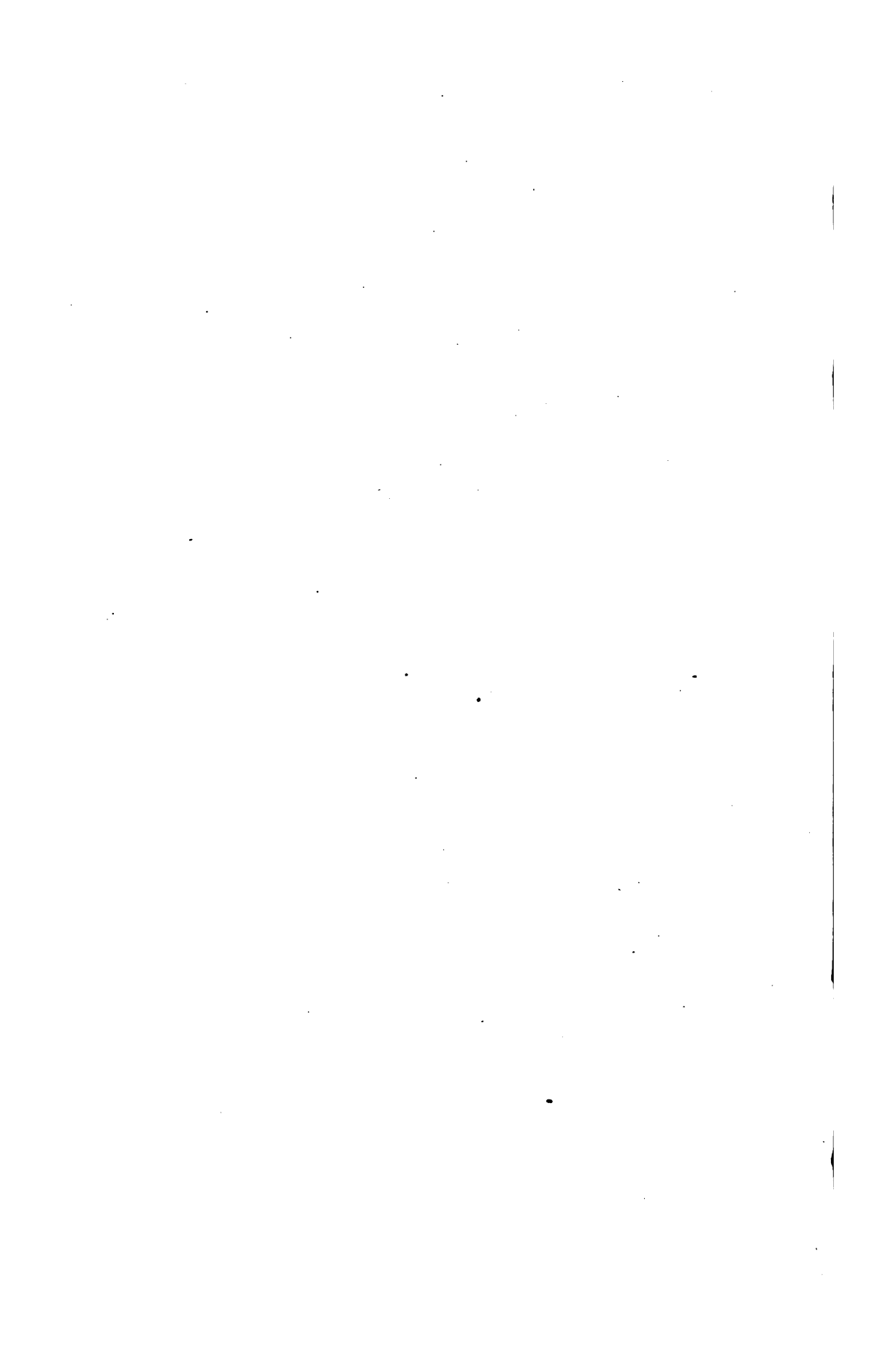
Addressed.

To the right ho^{ble} S^r Henry Bennett
Principal Secretary of State
These.

Endorsed.

Octob. 13, 63

My ld of Derby
answ^d 17.





No. XXIX.

EXTRACT FROM MERCURIUS POLITICUS.

Numb. 75.

Comprising the summe of all Intelligence, with the Affairs
and Designs now on foot in the three Nations of
England, Ireland, and Scotland.

In defence of the Commonwealth, and for Information of
the People.

— Ità vertere Seria.—HOB. *de Ar. Poet.*

From Thursday, Novemb. 6, to Thursday, Novemb. 13, 1651.

Take first, an exact Relation of the manner of our Enter-
prise upon the Isle of Man, with the successe it pleased
God to give there unto our Forces, as it was drawn up for
a satisfaction of some persons of Honor, by a Gentleman
that was an Eye-witnesse, and present in the whole Action.
Right Honorable,

Were I furnished with the best preparations of strength
and study that I could desire, yet I should account myself
altogether unfit for this imployment, which upon severall
disadvantages (being surprised with this unexpected com-
mand, and very much unfitted by a tedious journey, besides
the hardships which, with those that sent me, I have been a
sharer in) your Honors have commanded me to; in obedi-
ence to which I shall indeavor from first to last, with as
little roaving or impertinent discourse as may be to give
you as full a Relation as I can.

Upon the sixteenth of the 8 Month Colonell Ducken-

field Commander in cheife of the forces appointed for this expedition set forth from Chester, about 3 in the morning, and that night came on board the President frigot in the Point of Air, at which place and upwards toward Liverpoole all our forces were shipt (viz.) my Lord Generall's Regiment of foote under Lieutenant Colonell Charles Worsley, Major Generall Deanes regiment of foot under Lieutenant Colonell William Mitchell, and Colonell Duckenfield's own regiment of foote, with two troopes of horse.

The 18 day the winde beginning to favour our voyage, we struck sayle towards the Isle of Man, but having passed the barres with some difficulty and danger, which is a passage in Chester water, we were forced by a contrary winde into Beaumaris harbour, wherein was marvellous providence; for had we reach't the Island with that winde that set on us on Anglesey, the violence of the storm which arose within few howres would not only have hindred the landing of our men upon such rough shores, but have scattered us into severall countrys, to the disparaging and retarding if not altogether frustrating our intended attempts at least for this winter.

Upon the 20 day while we lay in Beaumoris harbour, came in Major Fox a Lancashire Gentleman that had been long imprisoned by the Earle of Derby in the Isle of Man, and with him one Mr. Brayden the Countess's servant, bringing letters from her Ladyship, hearing of preparations in England against her, and not hearing of the death of her Lord who was beheaded at Bolton in Lancashire the fifteenth of that instant (a remarkable peice of divine justice seene in the very appointing the place) treating about the rendition of the Island upon condition the Earle might be released; but all too late, Broyden was therefore deteyned till the fleet moved which consisted of 44 saill besides some vessels with passengers for Ireland.

The 24 day about noone, the winde beginning to change somewhat southwardly, we were all one boord againe that night, and about midnight it breathing a very fresh gale, about 2 in the morning the 25 day we set saile and by 2 or 3 that afternoone we came to have a clear view of the calve of Man, Castle Rushen, Darby fort, Dowglas fort, and almost the whole Island. We saw also the country people in what numbers they could make (for they have no trees to hide them) both horse and foot, in variety of motions, mustering up what strength they could possibly ingage, which for ought we knew was against us. Now it is controverted, whether to summon the Island, or to make a forcible entry first, and then afterward to scatter declarations more properly among them, and only summon the Castles. This latter was resolved upon, which probably, had it been attempted, would have cost the effusion of much blood; but it pleased God (whose ways and thoughts are above ours) that there suddenly arose a very great storme for a short time, that most of our vessells could not possibly come up to the foremost of us, or at least fearing they should split, durst not ride neare the shore, so we staying to have alltogether and it growing darke, were prevented from landing that night, and consequently from so bloudy an assault, as in all reason the Islanders might have expected then in opposition against us, and having the day before made an agreement with the Countess, and some of them offered to take oaths of faithfulness to be true to her against the forces approaches (meaning us), promising her Ladiship their assistance with their lives and estates. We steered therefore towards the North end of the Island and with some difficulty fetch't *Ramsey bay* by 10 of the clock that night, where we cast anchor, Captain *Young* having placed a party only to face some of their forts southward: but no shot was exchanged, though some of our vessells seemed to invite

them to it, by waving up and down so neare them as they could well saile.

The 26 day about one in the morning, came one Hugh More an Islander, on board us, employed by M. Receiver *Christian*, and others the chief of the Island, to assure us we should have no opposition in landing, but might securely come under any of their Forts, which hee said they had already taken possession for us. Only two Castles did yet stand out, *Rushen* and *Peel*; the later whereof, they of the country, had once in their own hands; but not being experienced in war, lost it again, and also one of their own Captains mortally wounded, who is since dead. But this Hugh More, had not so much as a word in writing, to assure us of the truth of his relation, which caused some jealousies; whereupon, Major *Fox* boating over to them by way of inquiry, and carrying also with him several papers by way of Declaration, confirms all with certainty at his return, which was about five of the clock the same morning. Thus it pleased God to change their spirits, and restrain their power, partly mollified by something sent in by Captain *Young* before we came, and by these now; and partly terrified with the suddennesse and formidablenesse of the Forces so near them, that about 8 of the clock the same morning, came some as Commissioners from and in behalf of the Island, whereof *Dymster* Christian was one (viz.) their Judge, and with him three or four more, seemingly honest and sufficient men, whose businesse it was to move that their poor Island might be preserved from spoil, and the Inhabitants from undoing, by landing onely some part of a Regiment, or one Regiment at most; and upon this condition they would bring provision upon marketable rates to the shoar, to supply the wants of such that are continued on Shipboard, and would assist them that were to land, to

the reducing the Castles in a short time; which Proposals in part were accepted of.

Colonel Duckenfield, the Commander in chief, rather studying how to oblige the Country, by the fewnesse of the number, and civilities of other carriage, then to over-power them by the least appearance of a rigorous behaviour.

But on the 27. day, most of our men staying on Ship-board, were in great danger, by a long continued tempestuous storm; insomuch, that many of our Vessels were not possibly able to ride in the Bay: One run on shoar, and was spoiled, but the lives of the persons in her were preserved; many others driven severally, among which, a Squadron of Captain Jonson's Horse with their Riders, the most part generally suffered; whereupon at their return, which was the next day, being sensible of the danger at Sea, and the delays by Land, the Castles yet standing out, all the Horse and Foot received Orders to come on shoare (this was the 28 day), who not a little unfitted for present action by reason of their tossings immediately before, having possessed themselves of all the Forts in the Island and Calf of Man, they laid siege to both the Castles at once, Colonel Duckenfield himself lying about Rushen, where the Countesse was.

The 29 day, a Letter was sent in to her by M. Receiver Christian, and M. Isaac Berkenhead, in answer to what Master Broyden, brought to Anglesey, when we were there, not intending to send a Summons, till the Batteries were fully ready, which could not suddenly be done, the ways being altogether impassable for carriages by Land, and the winds denying a conveyance by Sea.

Take the Letter as follows:—

Madam!—I presume to return this answer to your Ladiship's Letter sent to me by M. Broyden, that I have earnestly solicited the Councel of State, and my Lord

General, to commiserate the condition of the late Earl of Darby, and his Family; but they have since commanded me hither, for the reducing of this Island; and therefore, according to the trust reposed in me, I shall by the help of God, endeavour to lose no time in gaining such holds as are yet defended by your Ladyship, against those I serve, and hope to manage the same as becomes a Soldier and a Christian: and I really believe, there is no way left for your Family, of avoiding utter ruine, but by a present surrendering the castles of Rushen and Peel to the State of England; the delaying whereof, will render me unable to approve my self, Your Ladiships servant,

ROB. DUCKENFIELD.

Castle Town Octob. 29, 1651.

The Countess observing this passage in the Letter, the late Earl of Darby, believed what she had only heard some whisper of, as concerning his death, and seemed to be extremely passionately affected, as in a kind of fury; which those that were employed in the Message perceiving, moved for a speedy Answer to the Letter; and M. Rutter, their Arch-Deacon, being a man of a very timorous spirit, urging also to tearms of agreement, the notable spirit of that young Virago, the Lady Molineux (that should be) was observable; answering Master Rutters motion with this, that she wished that he, and all such as he, were out of the Castle, and bid him and them get them gone, since they were afraid, and leave them alone, who were resolved to sell their lives and bloud at a dearer rate then so, and follow her noble Father. But the Countess her self beginning to clear up her clouds, promised an Answer that night, to be sent by a Messenger of her own. So, they that delive'd the Letter departed, and a paper was accordingly sent that night by M. Broom, the Ladies steward, intituled,

The Proposals of the Right Honorable the Countess of Derby to the Commander for the State of England of these forces in the Isle of Man.

That she may remove with her children and all her goods whatsoever within the Island, Peele and Calfe, and have a safe convoy and provision of shipping to transport her and them for England, and from thence to France or Holland, at her Ladships pleasure, or to dispose of them here to her best advantage.

That she may have a convenient time for the removal of her goods, and a convenient place or places of her own choice within the Island for the disposure thereof, and for her Ladships residing in, till she can be ready to remove, and in the mean time the benefit of the rents of the Island.

That she may have her Joynture in England, and portion due unto her, according to the covenants of marriage, and that her daughters in England may be set at liberty (if they be in restraint) and to live with her Ladship if she please.

That my Lords Wil which he made before the war, for the advancement of his younger children, and payments of debts with the conveyances thereupon executed, may stand in force and be performed according to the tenor thereof.

That all manner of evidences concerning the Earldom, may be disposed of to the heirs use, at her Ladships discretion.

That all her Ladships servants, Chaplain or Chaplains, and such others as shall go with her, together with their goods, be suffered to passe with her to England, or elsewhere, and some one or more of them in the mean time bee suffered to stay in the Castles to look to the goods.

That all her servants may have the benefit of, and enjoy their estates in England or elsewhere, without any impediment; and whatsoever they, or any of them, hold by lease

from the House of Derby, that it may be made good and effectual unto them.

That all her Ladiships souldiers and servants who have continued with her, and in her service here, or in any of her Garrisons, since the landing of the English Forces, may have and enjoy their pensions during their lives, paid unto them out of the revenues of the Island.

That Sir Philip Musgrave the Governor, and all Knights, Gentlemen, Sea Captains, Souldiers, Merchants and Mariners, who are in this Island, and all prisoners taken since the 19 of this moneth, and Mr. Henry Broyden, may have liberty for the space of one year, either to stay here or go into England or any other place, with their personal goods and proper Arms, and to have liberty also to compound for their estates, and not to be questioned for any thing they have acted since the time of the war; and that all such Gentlemen, Merchants, or other persons, who have any debts due in this Island, may have the liberty of the Law to recover the same.

That such Arms and Ammunition as his Lordship brought and provided at his own charge for the defence of his Island, may be transported by her Ladiship with the rest of her goods, or that she may have a considerable value for the same.

That her Ladiships children, servants, and all others mentioned or included in the former Articles, shall have protections for their safe and quiet living and abiding accordingly during the space of 12 moneths from the date hereof, without either oath or engagement, any question, trouble, or damage for any past act or thing done in the time of war, or in the prosecution thereof.

That her Ladiships Chaplains, Mr. Samuel Rutter, and Mr. Hynd, may have and enjoy the fruits of the next yeare, which will be due upon Easter day next, after twelve a clock

at noon, according to the custome of the Countrey, whether they engage for the State of England or no, and to have power to make sale before hand of those fruits, and to have such sale confirmed by those in power from the State of England; and if both or either of the said Chaplains, shall within one yeare engage with the said State, then to enjoy their livings in as full manner as any other within this Island, or any where else: If otherwise they, one or both of them, shall have sufficient passes to transport themselves and goods into forraigne Countries; and for the space of one yeare, not to have any oath or engagement enforced upon them.

That the Holland ship belonging to Amsterdam, now at Peele, be restored to the Owner, and her Ladiship to have command thereof for her money if she please.

That all Officers, Souldiers, and Gentlemen, and others, upon the surrender of the Garrisons, shall march out with their travelling Arms, clothes, monies, and other necessities, and them to enjoy without impediment or interruption during the foresaid time.

That during her Ladiships abode here, no violence shall be done or offered to her Ladiship, or any of her Company or goods, or to any the Gentlemen, Souldiers, or others included in these Articles.

That the time and place, and number of persons be agreed upon for a meeting upon the treaty and agreement upon these Proposals, and safe conducts upon both parties.

That the conditions to be agreed upon for her Ladiship, or any other included in the Propositions, shall be confirmed and made good by the Councell of State in England, and the Lord Generall Cromwell. And that Duckinfield engage for the same.

That every man included in these Propositions, may have his particular Passe when he demands it, from your selfe, or such as you shall leave here to command in chief.

These her Ladiships Proposals (you may imagine) could not be much satisfactory to them to whom they were sent, unless we had been at her mercy as she was at ours. Master Broom was therefore detained that night; and the next morning being the 30 day, sent away without any answer at all; onely he brought them such a Message, that they all expected every hour to hear from us in other language, for, as yet no shot had been exchanged, though our seige had been laid several days close to the wall round about.

The 31 day we compass'd the landing of our Grands shells, Morter pieces, and great Guns, which being most on shore, the form of a civil Summons was resolved upon, which though it were never sent (for we had no occasion) yet take as follows:—

Madam—Although our visible preparations is so neer an approach to you, cannot but give sufficient notice whose servant we are, and what we are come about; yet in tenderness towards your Ladiship and some others with you, altogether unfit to be so much as spectators of, much more sufferers in the sad events of undistinguishing assaults, we have condescended to send you the sum of our resolutions in this more formal way of summons, That being commanded by the Councell of State, and the Lord General of the English forces to reduce the Isle of Man with all the Castles, Forts, and Ammunition for their service, We do in the name, and for the service of the State of England, demand the Rushen Castle to be delivered up with all things and persons therein to the mercy and dispose of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, which the sooner you answer our expectations in (for we are not sent, neither shall we spend many hours in compliments) it will prove much the better for you all, and will render me more capable of expressing my selfe, Your Ladiships servant, ROBERT DUCKENFIELD.

Octob. 31, 1651, Castle-Town.

But while this stayd some time, not fully determined to be sent, but rather some sharper Summons, News came that there was a discontent generally among her souldiers in the Castle, partly fomented by the courting of the besiegers without, and partly by a strange kinde of terroure they within were surprized withal. Many, both that day, and the day before, adventuring their necks by desperate leaps got out, others wrenching open a sally-port by the help of some of ours without, as they came forth, so we became possessed of the outward wall and tower, which they might easily have regained to the loss of those, and much to the disadvantage of the rest, and as we have seen since, might have wearyed us out with a full winters siege: but none of those men of might could finde their hands, onely upon this tumult, neither shot or blow striken, they called out for a parly; and hostages being given, Sir Thomas Armstrong, a Scotch Knight, and Mr. Samuel Rutter, who was formerly their Arch-Deacon in the Island, came forth as Commissioners, and were answered by Col. Tho. Birch, and Lieut.-Col. William Mitchel, which agreement was this as followeth:—

Articles agreed upon this one and thirtieth day of October 1651, between Tho. Armstrong Knight, and Mr. Sam. Rutter, on the behalf of the Right Honourable Charlott Countess of Darby, on the one party, and Col. Tho. Birch, and Lieut.-Col. William Mitchell Commissioners appointed by the Honourable Col. Robert Duckenfield Commander in chief on the other party, touching the surrendring of the Castle Rushen and Peel Castle as followeth:

1. That the Castle Rushen, with all the Arms, Ammunition, Ordnance, and other materials of war, shal be delivered up by 11 a clock to morrow in the forenoon, into the hands of such Officer or Officers as the Commander in chief shall appoint.

2. That Peek-Castle, and all the Armes, Ammunition, Ordnance, and other materials of War, shall be delivered up by 11 of the clock in the Forenoon on Munday next, being the 3 of November, into the hands of such Officer or Officers, as the Commander in chief shall appoint.

3. That all goods in both the above named Castles, belonging to the Countess of Darby, shall at the time of rendition specified, be inventoried, and secured, and further referred and submitted to the dispose and pleasure of the Parliament of England.

4. That all other goods whatsoever, except wearing apparel, in both Castles, be likewise Inventoried, and secured, and referred and submitted to the dispose and pleasure of the Parliament of England.

5. That the Knights, Gentlemen, and other persons whatsoever, in both the said Castles, shall have quarter, and be protected by the Commander in chief, from any harm whatsoever, against their persons, by any Soldier under his command, or any other person in this Island, and shall not have any wearing apparel taken from them, or private monies out of their pockets; and such of the Natives as are in the said Castles shall have liberty to return to their several habitations.

6. That the Knights, Gentlemen, and other strangers, shall have Passes from the Commander in chief, to go to their several Countries or habitations, they acting nothing prejudicial to the Parliament of England.

7. That the Countess of Derby, with her children, and servants, have liberty to transport themselves for England, there to make what application to the Parliament she shall think fit, and from thence to passe into Holland, or France, if she please.

THOMAS BIRCH.

THOMAS ARMSTRONG.

WILLIAM MITCHEL.

SAMUEL RUTTER.

Approved by me.

C. DERBY.

An account of Armes, and Ammunition, and Provision in the new Fort or Andrew Fort, delivered to Capt. Fr. Duckenfield, Octob. 26, 51:

1 Saker of Iron. 3 Iron Minions. 2 Iron Falkons. 2 Brasse Rabbincts. 1 Iron Murderer. 24 Muskets. 3 Musket barrels. 4 Fowling piece barrels. 6 Barrels of powder. Neer a Tun of Match. 80 Saker shot. 42 Shot for Minion, and other small pieces. 2 Barrels of Musket shot. 8 Cartarages of shot: 6 Cartarages of Powder, ready for the Pieces, 95 Hand-granads shels. Half a barrel of shot-parings. 38 Barrels of Lead. 14 Bars of Iron. 1 Pair of white Colours.

Provisions. 16 Barrels of Herrings. 10 Barrels of Bay-salt. Neer 3 barrels of Barley. 2 Hogsheads, one barrel and a half of Oat-meal. 1 Barrel of Vinegar; half a barrel of Rye; some few coals, and pieces of wood to burn. At Ramsie Bay.—1 Whole Culvering. 1 Falkennet at the low Fort. 1 Demiculvering; a considerable quantity of shot.

A particular list of the Vessel called the James, the owners' names being James Robinson and John Mekane:

50 Barrels of Wheat. 6 Barrels of Pease and Beans. 12 Barrels of Tar. 2 Cakes of Pitch. 62 Dale boards. One tun of Vinegar. 3 Rowls of Tobacco. 1 Barrel of Tobacco Pipes. One bag of Allum. 3 Cables, and Ankers, with all other necessaries, the Vessell being about 30 Tun. One great Vessel, which is thought to be about 150 Tuns, having in her about 400 Dale boards. 7 Muskets. 3 Cables. 3 Ankers. 1 Forepeak. 1 Top sail, one Missen sail. One other vessel, being about 35 tuns, Cables and Ankers, and all other materials compleat. In the Fort.—3 Guns, a Saker, Falken, Falknet. 4 Sling pieces, without Chambers. 4 Harcubus of Brass. 1 Saker at the Fence. 2 Bastard Saker, and 2 Minion, 45 Skeins of Match. 400

weight of Musket bullet. 100 of Minion shot. 40 of Falken. 26 of Falkenet. 35 Bills. Dowglas Fort.

In Derby Fort.—Reynoldus. 1 Demy-culvering. 1 Saker: 2 Demy-saker, 1 sling-piece, 10 Muskets. 1 Musket-barrel. 1 Fire-lock. 2 Muskets delivered to the Parish. 5 pair of bandoleers. 6 Pair delivered in the Parish. 1 Ship red colour. 1 Foot colour delivered to the Par. 2 Black bils. 3 Roundheads. 7 Skein of Match. 17 Cartarages of powder. 4 pound of loose powder. 12 Crossbar shot. 86 Small shot for sakers. 6 Iron bolts. 1 Crow of Iron. 2 Spades. 1 Bedstead. 1 Feather-bed. 1 Pair of Sheets. 2 Blankets. 1 Boulster.

The particulars of the goods in the Castle are not yet sent up.



No. XXX.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF HOUSE OF
ENGLISH COMMONS.

Journal, vol. vii. page 25, 34, 35, 36, 48, 319, 761, 817.

The Taking of the Isle of Man by Oliver Cromwell.

Ho. of Commons, Thursday, 6 November 1651.

A Letter from Col. Duckenfield and Col. Thomas Birch from Ramsay, Isle of Man of the 2nd Novr. 1651 touching the Rendition of Castle Rushen and Peter (Peel) Castle and the articles touching the Rendition of the said Castles were this day read.

The House being informed that Mr. Slater the Messenger who brought the said letter from Col. Duckenfield and Col. Thomas Birch, was at the door, he was called in and, at the Bar, made a relation of the proceedings in the taking of the said Castles.

Ordered, That £100 be given as a gratuity to Mr. Slater, and that the Council of State do take care to see the same paid to him accordingly.

Ordered, That a letter of thanks from the Parliament be sent to Col. Duckenfield and Col. Thomas Birch and the Officers and Soldiers for their good and faithful service in the taking of the Isle of Man.

Col. Martin is to write the said Letter, and Mr. Speaker is to sign it.

Ordered, That it be referred to the Committee of State to consider what is fit to be done for the preserving of the Island, for the benefit of the Commonwealth.

Ordered, That it be referred to the Committee of the Army to examine the truth of the suggestion touching a £1000 lent by Col. Duckenfield to the use of the Commonwealth in the year 1642; which is still unsatisfied, and if they find the same to be true, to consider how the same may be satisfied, and report their opinion to the Parliament.

Tuesday, the 11th November 1651.

Resolved, That the Articles made upon the Rendition of the Isle of Man and the Castles therein be approved of and confirmed.

Friday, 5th December 1651.

Mr. John Gurdon reports from the Council of State that the Council upon Conference with the Lord General are of opinion that there will be necessary for the Guard of the Man 240 Soldiers in two Companies, each to consist of 120 men, besides Officers, whereof 40 to be under the command of a Captain: and two Sergeants to be also on the Establishment above the Officers of two complete Companies: and that these numbers and officers be established for that place, if the Parliament shall so think fit.

That the Govnr. of that Island may have 16s. a day for his pay as Govr. besides the pay of a Captain of Foot.

That it also be reported to the Parliament that the propositions following have been offered concerning the Isle of Man, which the Council hath thought proper to represent to the Parliament, for them to do therein as they shall think fit—viz.

That much of the goods in the Isle of Man been found to belong to such that have been, and are well affected in England, may upon the Proof of their Rights be restored:

And the rest, which will appear to be lawful prize to be allowed towards the accomodating of the Garrison there, among which two vesals for the help and benefit of the Island, not being able to subsist without Traffick, or defend themselves from Pyrates without some such conveniency.

That the £400, which was the Bishop's yearly revenue, together with the profits of the sequestrable Clergy may make one purse, to be allowed to so many and such ministers as the Council of State shall appoint to preach as Steueraries, at least for a time, and all scandalous and unfit members to be put out.

That the Isle of Man may be taken in as part of England, yet retaining such Laws already established, as are equitable and just and more suitable to the condition of that People than any other that can be imposed. To which end it will be convenient that Dymster Christian and his Bror. the Receiver, two of the ablest and honestest Gentlemen in the Island may be commanded to attend the Council, by whom they may receive a full and true account touching their Laws.

That the Council having considered of an Establish^t for Staff Officers, and Fire and Candle for the Garrison in the Isle of Man, think fit that the underwritten be reported to the Parliament for that purpose, that if the Parliament shall so think fit allowances may be made accordingly: viz.—

	Per Diem.
A Chirurgeon	£0 3 0
A Marshall	0 2 0
A Master Gunner, to be also Storekeeper	0 2 6
2 Mates each at 20d.	0 3 4
6 Matrosses each at 12d.	0 6 0
Fire and Candle	0 2 0

Resolved, That this House doth agree with the Council of State, that for the Guard of the Isle of Man 240 Soldiers in

two Companies, each to consist of 120 men besides Officers, whereof 40 to be under the command of a Captain: and two Sergeants to be put upon the Establishment above the Officers of two complete Companies; and the Committee of the Army are authorised and required to make payment thereof accordingly.

Resolved, That the Governor of that Island have 16s. a day for his Pay as Governor, besides his pay as a Captain of Foot.

Resolved, That the House doth agree to this Establishment for Staff Officers, and Fire and Candle for the Garrison of the Isle of Man, as above, per diem; and the Committee of the Army are authorised and required to make payment thereof accordingly.

Thursday, 15th September 1653.

Major General Desborow reports from the Council of State a new Establish^t for the Isle of Man, as is appointed by the Council of State, to commence the 17th of October, 1653, which was this day read—viz.

The Governor for his Pay as Governor besides Captain's Pay	}	£0 10 0	£14 0 0
Chirurgeon			
Marshall		0 3 0	4 4 0
Master Gunner, also Storekeeper		0 2 0	2 16 0
Two Mates each at 20d.		0 2 6	3 10 0
Six Matrosses each at 12d.		0 3 4	4 13 4
Fire and Candle for the Guards		0 6 0	8 8 0
		0 4 0	5 12 0
For the Guards of the Isle of Man—Two Companies of Foot, each Company consisting of a Captain, Lieut., Ensign, Two Sergeants, Three Corporals, Two Drums, a Gentleman of Arms, and 100 Private Soldiers	}	10 15 8	301 18 8
		£12 6 6	£345 2 0

Resolved, That this House doth agree to the Reducement and the Establishment now offered, And to order that the

said Establishment be confirmed, to commence from the 17th October 1653.

Wednesday, the 17th of August 1659.

M^r Chaloner reports from the Council of State, that Capt. Rose have a commission to command a Company of Foot in the Isle of Man, and that he have a Commission made to that purpose.

Friday, January 20th 1659.

Sir Arthur Hesilrig reports a List of the Officers of Col. Filch his Regiment: which was read, and also a List of Officers for the Isle of Man was read.

Friday Afternoon, 27 January, 1659.

A List of Officers for the Isle of Man was read and is as followeth, viz.—

JAMES CHALLONER, Captain.

JOSEPH JONES, Lieutenant.

SAMUEL ROSE, Captain.

HENRY SPROTE, Lieutenant.

THOMAS PRINTON, Master Gunner and Storekeeper.

And every of the said Officers being severally put to the question were approved.

Friday, February 3rd 1659.

M^r Speaker according to former order, delivered Commissions before the sitting of the House unto Captain Samuel Rose, his Commission to be a Captain of a Company of Foot in the Isle of Man, and delivered to him the several Commissions following, to be delivered as followeth, viz.: To James Challoner his Commission to be Captain of a Company in the said Isle. To Joseph Jones, his Commission to be Lieutenant of that Company. To Henry Sprote, his Commission to be Lieutenant of the said Captain Rose, his Company, Thomas Printon, his Commission to be Master Gunner.



No. XXXI.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF EDWARD AND
WILLIAM CHRISTIAN ;

TWO CHARACTERS IN "PEVERIL OF THE PEAK."

THESE "Historical Notices" have been attributed to Colonel Wilks, author of the *History of Mysur*, but without sufficient authority for so doing. Upon referring to these notices it will be observed the writer speaks of having visited this *ancient Lilliput*, he was induced to examine, with the aid of a local antiquary, into the history of Illiam Dhôn, having heard the mournful ditty warbled by the landlady's pretty daughter soon after his landing, which naturally attracted the earliest notice of a *stranger*. Now it is well known that Col. Wilks was neither a stranger nor unacquainted with the laws and customs of his native country, consequently would not have been induced, from whatever motive, to have penned such erroneous statements as we find in the privately printed pamphlet before us. This having afterwards been so extensively circulated in the notes to the various editions of *Peveril of the Peak*, the editor is induced to state that many years ago, being present at his bookseller's in Douglas, he observed him in the act of packing up a large number of the original edition of these *Historical Notices*, and on enquiry was informed that Mr. James Marsden of Liverpool, the author, had called in the whole impression remaining unsold. He had

probably found out that some of the statements mentioned therein were not tenable.

Upon making enquiry of the late Miss Wilks of Douglas, she said that she had never heard that Colonel Wilks had written these *Historical Notices*; which, if he had, she would most probably have been made acquainted with the circumstance.

As the statements contained therein bear so much on the subject of the trial of William Christian, they are here again printed, and may be taken for as much as they are worth.

HISTORICAL NOTICES.

The venerable Dr. Dryasdust, in a preparatory dialogue, apprizes the Eidolon, or apparition of the author, that he stood "much accused for adulterating the pure sources of historical knowledge;" and is answered by that emanation of genius, "that he has done some service to the public if he can present to them a lively fictitious picture, for which the original anecdote or circumstance which he made free to press into his service, only furnished a slight sketch;" "that by introducing to the busy and the youthful

‘Truths severe in fairy fiction dressed,’

and by creating an interest in fictitious adventures ascribed to a historical period and characters, the reader begins next to be anxious *to learn what the facts really were*, and how far the novelist has justly represented them."

The adventures ascribed to "historical characters" would however fail in their moral aim, if fiction were placed at variance with truth; if Hampden, or Sydney, for example, were painted as swindlers; or Lady Jane Grey, or Rachel Russel, as abandoned women!

"Odzooks! must one swear to the truth of a song?" al-

though an excellent joke, were a bad palliation in such a case. Fancy may be fairly indulged in the illustration, but not in the perversion of fact; and if the fictitious picture should have no general resemblance to the original, the flourish of

“Truths severe in fairy fiction dressed,”

were but an aggravation of the wrong.

The family of CHRISTIAN is indebted to this splendid luminary of the North for abundant notoriety.

The William Christian, represented on one part as an ungrateful traitor, on the other as the victim of a judicial murder, and his brother (or relative) Edward, one of the suite of a Duke of Buckingham,¹ were so far real historical persons. Whether the talents and skill of Edward in imposing on Fenella a feigned silence of several years, be among the legitimate or supernatural wonders of this fertile genius, his fair readers do not seem to be agreed. Whether the residue of the canvas, filled up with a masterly picture of the most consummate hypocrite and satanic villain ever presented to the imagination, be consistent with the historical character of this individual, is among the subjects of research to which the novelist has given a direct invitation in his prefatory chapter.

English history furnishes few materials to aid the investigation of transactions chiefly confined to the Isle of Man. Circumstances led me, many years ago, to visit this ancient Lilliput; whether as one of those “smart fellows worth talking to,” “in consequence of a tumble from my barouche,” “as a ruined miner,” or as “a disappointed speculator,” is of no material import. It may be that temporary embarrassment drove me into seclusion, without any of the irresistible inducements alluded to; and want of employment, added to the acquaintance and aid of a zealous local antiquary, gradually

¹ Not the Duke described in *Peveril*, but the companion of Charles I. in his Spanish romance.

led to an examination of all accessible authorities on this very subject among others. So it happened, that I had not landed many hours before I found the mournful ditty of "William Dhône (*brown-haired William*, this very identical William Christian), twanged through the demi-nasal, demi-guttural trumpet of the carman, and warbled by the landlady's pretty daughter ; in short, making as great a figure in its little sphere as did once the more important ballad of Chevy Chace in its wider range : the burden of the song purporting that William Dhône was the mirror of virtue and patriotism, and that envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness, operate the destruction of the wisest and the best.

Themes of popular feeling naturally attract the earliest notice of a stranger ; and I found the story of this individual, though abundantly garbled and discoloured on the insular records, full of circumstances to excite the deepest interest, but which, to be rendered intelligible, must be approached by a circuitous route, in which neither elfin, page, nor maiden fair, can be the companion of our walk.

The loyal and celebrated James, 7th Earl of Derby, was induced, by the circumstances of the times, to fix his chief residence in the Isle of Man from 1643 to 1651.¹ During this period he composed, in the form of a letter² to his son

¹ His countess resided, at Latham House (her heroic defence of which is well known) until 1644 or 5, when she also retired to the Isle of Man. A contemporary publication, the *Mercurius Aulicus*, by John Birkenhead, says "the Countesse, it seems, stole the Earls breeches, when he fled long since into the Isle of Man, and hath in his absence played the Man at Latham." This insinuation is certainly unjust ; but the Earl seems to consider some explanation necessary, "why he left the land, when every gallant spirit had engaged himself for king and country." Danger of revolt and invasion of the island constitute the substance of this explanation. There is reason, however, to conjecture that he had been disappointed of the command he had a right to expect, when he brought a considerable levy to join the king at York : any explanation, in short, might be listened to, except a doubt of his loyalty and ardent military spirit, which were above all impeachment.

² Published in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, in 1779.

Charles (Lord Strange), an historical account of that island, with a statement of his own proceedings there ; interspersed with much political advice for the guidance of his successor ; full of acute observation, and evincing an intimate acquaintance with the works of Machiavelli, which it appears, by a quotation,¹ that he had studied in a Latin edition. The work, although formally divided into chapters and numbered paragraphs, is professedly desultory,² and furnishes few means of determining the relative dates of his facts, which must accordingly be supplied by internal evidence, and in some cases by conjecture.

He appears to have been drawn thither, in 1643, by letters³ intimating the danger of a revolt : the "people had begun the fashion of England in murmuring ;" "assembled in a tumultuous manner ; desiring new laws, they would have no bishops, pay no tithes to the clergie, despised authority, rescued people committed by the Governor," etc. etc.

The Earl's first care was to apply himself to the consideration of these insurrectionary movements ; and as he found some interruption to his proceedings in the conduct of *Edward Christian*,⁴ an attempt shall be made, so far as our limits will admit, to extract the Earl's own account of this person. "I was newly⁵ got acquainted with Captain Christian, whom I perceived to have abilities enough to do me service. I was

¹ Peck, p. 446,—fortiter calumniari aliquid adhærebit.

² Peck, 446. "Loth to dwell too long on one subject," skip over to some other matter.

³ Peck, p. 434.

⁴ For a history of this family, established in the Isle of Man so early as 1422, see Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*, vol. iii. p. 146. They had previously been established in Wigtonshire.

⁵ This is an example of the difficulty of arranging the relative dates : the word *newly*, thus employed at the earliest in 1643, refers to 1628, the date of the appointment of E. Christian to be governor of the Isle of Man, which office he held till 1635 (Sacheverill's *Account of the Isle of Man*, published in 1702, p. 100). The Earl being then Lord Strange, but apparently taking the lead in public business during his father's lifetime.

told he had made a good fortune in the Indies, that he was a Mankesman borne." . . . "He is excellent good companie ; as rude as a sea captain should be ; but refined as one that had civilised himself half a year at Court, where he served the Duke of Buckingham." . . . "While he governed here some few years he pleased me very well,"¹ etc. etc. "But such is the condition of man, that most will have some fault or other to blurr all their best vertues ; and his was of that condition which is reckoned with drunkenness, viz., *covetousness*, both marked *with age* to increase and grow in man." . . . "When a Prince has given all, and the favourite can desire no more, they both grow weary of one another."²

An account of the Earl's successive public meetings, short, from the limits of our sketch, is extracted, in a note,³ from the

¹ [His true offence was imprisoning the lord's steward of the Abbey lands for an unlawful exaction of tithe.—Ed.]

² Peck, p. 444. There is apparently some error in Hutchinson's genealogy of the family in his *History of Cumberland* : 1st brother, John, born 1602 ; 2d died young ; 3d William, born 1608 ; 4th Edward, Lieut.-Governor of the Isle of Man, 1629, (according to Sacheverill, p. 100, 1628). This Edward's birth cannot be placed earlier than 1609, and he could not well have made a fortune in the Indies, have frequented the court of Charles I., and be selected as a fit person to be a governor, at the age of nineteen or twenty. The person mentioned in the text was obviously of *mature age* ; and *Edward the governor* appears to have been the brother of *William Christian*, a branch of the same family, who married the heiress of Knockrushen, near Castle Rushen, who, as well as Edward, was imprisoned in Peel Castle in 1643.

³ Peck 338, et seq. Chap. viii. "The Earl appoints a meeting of the natives, every man to give in his grievances ; upon which some think to out-wit him, which he winks at, being not ready for them, therefore cajoles and divides them ; on the appointed day he appears with a good guard ; the people give in their complaints quietly and retire. Chap. ix. Another meeting appointed, when he also appears with a good guard. Many busy men speak only Mankes, which a more designing person (probably Captain Christian, a late governor) would hinder, but the Earl forbids it ; advice about appearing in public ; the Mankesmen great talkers and wranglers ; the Earl's spies get in with them and wheedle them. Chap. x. The night before the meeting the Earl consults with his officers, what to answer ; but tells them

headings of the chapters (apparently composed by Peck). In the last of these meetings it appears that Edward Christian attempted at its close to recapitulate the business of the day : " Asked if we did not agree thus and thus," mentioning some things (says the Earl) " he had instructed the people to aske ; which happily they had forgot." The Earl accordingly rose in wrath, and, after a short speech, " bade the court to rise, and no man to speak more."—" Some (he adds) were *committed to prison*, and there abided, until, upon *submission* and assurance of *being very good and quiet*, they were released, and others were put into their rooms.—I thought fit to make them be *deeply fined* ; since this they all come in most submisse and *loving manner*." ¹ Pretty efficient means of producing *quiet*, if the despot be strong enough, and with it such *love* as suits a despot's fancy ! Among the prisoners were *Edward Christian* and his brother William of Knockrushen ; the latter was released in 1644, on giving bond, among other conditions, *not to depart the island without licence*.

Of Edward, the Earl says, " I will return unto Captain Christian, whose business must be heard next week " (either in 1644 or early in 1645). "*He is still in prison*, and I believe many wonder thereat, as savouring of injustice, and that his trial should be deferred so long." " Also his business is of that condition that *it concerns not himself alone*." " If a Jurie of the people do passé upon him (being he had so cajoled

nothing of his spies ; compares both reports, and keeps back his own opinion ; sends some of the officers, who he knew would be troublesome, out of the way, about other matters ; the (present) governor afresh commended ; what counsellors the properest. Chap. xi. The Earl's carriage to the people at his first going over ; his carriage at the meeting to modest petitioners, to impudent, to the most confident, and to the most dangerous, *viz.* them who stood behind and prompted others. All things being agreed, Captain Christian cunningly begins disturbance ; the Earl's reply and speech to the people ; Christian is stroke blank ; several people committed to prison and fined, which quiets them."

¹ Peck, 442.

them to believe he suffers for their sakes), it is likely they should quit him, and then might he laugh at us, whom I had rather he had betrayed." "I remember one said it was much safer to take men's lives than their estates: for their children will sooner much forget the death of their father than the loss of their patrimonie."¹ Edward *died in custody* in Peel Castle in 1650,² after an imprisonment of between seven and eight years;³ and so far, at least, no ground can be discovered for that gratitude which is afterwards said to have been violated by this family, unless indeed we transplant ourselves to those countries where it is the fashion to flog a public officer one day and replace him in authority the next.

The insular records detail with minuteness the complaints of the people relative to the exactions of the church, and their adjustment by a sort of public arbitration in October 1643. But it is singular, that neither in these records, nor in the Earl's very studied narrative of the modes of discussion, the offences, and the punishments, is one word to be found regarding the more important points actually at issue between himself and the people. The fact, however, is fully developed,

¹ Peck, 448-9.

² Feltham's *Tour*, p. 161, places this event (while a prisoner in Peel Castle), on the authority of a tombstone, in 1660, "John Greenhalgh being governor." Now John Greenhalgh ceased to be governor in 1651; the date is probably an error in the press for 1650.

³ [Feltham's mention of the government of John Greenhalgh, proves on examination to refer to Christian's *first* imprisonment. The register and tombstone are correctly copied (viz.—died 19th January, buried 22d January 1660), but strange as it may seem are both erroneous. The facts, as ascertained by the records, are as follows:—In 1643, Christian was sentenced by the Earl of Derby to imprisonment, and a fine of 1000 marks. In 1651 he was released by Duckenfield. In 1660, after the Restoration, he was remanded to Peel Castle, but *was permitted, as an indulgence*, to plead personally to a suit relative to property in September 1660, after which he was sent to his prison, where he died the same year, but on what special date does not appear. The inscription on the tombstone says he was born in the parish—and there is reason to suppose he was of the Christians of Ballakilly in KK Maughold.—Ed.]

as if by accident, in one of the Chapters (xvi.) of this very desultory but sagacious performance. "There comes this very instant an occasion to me to acquaint you with a special matter, which, if by reason of these troublesome and dangerous times, I cannot bring to passe my intents therein, you may in your better leisure consider thereof, and make some use hereafter of my present labors, in the matter of a certain holding in this country, called the tenure of the straw;¹ whereby *men thinke their dwellings are their own auntient inheritances*, and that they may passe the same to any, and dispose thereof *without license* from the Lord, but paying him a bare small rent like unto a fee-farme in England: wherein they are much deceived."

William the Conqueror, among his plans *for the benefit of his English subjects*, adopted that of inducing or compelling them to surrender their allodial lands, and receive them back to hold by feudal tenure. The Earl of Derby projected the surrender of a similar right, in order to create tenures more profitable to himself—a simple lease for three lives, or twenty-one years. The measure was entirely novel, although the attempt to prevent² alienation without license from the Lord, for pur-

¹ In the transfer of real estates both parties came into the common law court, and the grantor in the face of the court transferred his title to the purchaser by the delivery of a straw; which being recorded, was his title. The same practice prevailed in the transfer of personal property. Sir Edward Coke, IV. 69, when speaking of the Isle of Man, says, "upon the sale of a horse, or any contract for any other thing, they make the stipulation perfect per *traditionem stipulae*," (by the delivery of a straw). Perhaps a more feasible etymology of *stipulation*, than the usual derivation from *stipes* (a stake or land mark), or *stips* (a piece of money or wages).

² Among those instances in which "the commands of the lord proprietor have (in the emphatic words of the Commissioners of 1791, p. 67), been *obtruded* on the people as laws," we find, in 1583, the prohibition to dispose of lands without license of the lord, is prefaced by the broad admission, that "contrary to good and laudable order, and diverse and sundry general restraints made, the inhabitants *have*, and *dayly do*, notwithstanding the said restrainte, *buy, sell, give, grant, chop and exchange* their farms, lands, tenements,

poses of a less profitable exaction, may be traced, together with the scenes of violence it produced, through many passages in the ancient records, which would be inexplicable without this clue.

The Earl proceeded certainly with sufficient energy and considerable skill to the accomplishment of his object. In the very year of his arrival, Dec. 1643, he appointed commissioners¹ to compound for leases, consisting of some of his principal officers (members of council), who had themselves been prevailed on by adequate considerations to surrender their estates, and are by general tradition accused of having conspired to delude their simple countrymen into the persuasion, that having no title-deeds their estates were insecure; that leases were title-deeds; and although nominally for limited terms, declared the lands to be descendible to their eldest sons. It is remarkable that the names of *Ewan* and *William Christian*, two of the council, are alone excluded from this commission.

We have already seen two of the name committed to prison. The following notices, which abundantly unfold the ground of the Earl's hostility to the name of Christian, relate to Ewan Christian, the father of William Dhône, and one of the Deemsters, excluded from the commission. "One presented me a petition against Deemster² Christian, on the behalf of an infant who is conceived to have a right unto his Farme Rainsway (Ronaldsway), one of the principal holdings in this country, who, by reason of his eminencie here, and

etc., at their liberties and pleasures." Alienation fines were first exacted in 1643.—Report of Commissioners of 1791. App. A. No. 71, Rep. of Law Officers.

¹ The governor-controller, receiver; and John Cannel, deemster.

² Deemster, evidently Anglicized, the person who deems the law, a designation anciently unknown among the natives, who continue to call this officer *Brehon*, identical with the name of those judges and laws so often mentioned in the Histories of Ireland.

that he holdeth much of the same tenure of the straw in other places, he is soe observed, that certainly as I temper the matter with him in this, soe shall I prevail with others.¹ . . . By policie² they (the Christians) are crept into the principal places of power, and they be seated round about the country, and in the heart of it; they are matched with the best families," etc.

"The prayer of the petition³ formerly mentioned was to this effect, that there might be a fair tryal, and *when the right was recovered*, that I *would graunt them a lease thereof—this being in the tenure of the straw*. . . . Upon some conference with the petitioner, I find a motion heretofore was made by my commissioners, that the Deemster should give this fellow a summe of money. But he would part with none, neverthesse now it may be he will, and I hope to be so wise as to assure unto himself his holding, by compounding with me for the lease of the same, to which, if they two agree, I shall grant it him on easy terms. For if he breake the ice, I may haply catch some fish."⁴

The issue of this piscatory project was but too successful. Ewan bent to the *reign of terror*, and gave up Ronaldsway to his son William, who accepted the lease, and named his own descendants for the lives. Still the objects attained were unsubstantial, as being contrary to all law, written or oral; and the system was incomplete, until sanctioned by the semblance of legislative confirmation.

¹ Peck, 447.

² *Ib.*, 448.

³ I have ascertained the date of this petition to be 1643.

⁴ *Covetousness* is not attributed to this head of the family; but the Earl makes himself merry with his gallantry—natural children, it seems, took the name of their father, and not of their mother, as elsewhere, and "the deemster did not get soe many for lusts sake, as to make the name of Christian flourish." Of him, or a successor of the same name, it is related, that he "won £500 at play from the Bishop of Sodor and Man, with which he purchased the manor of *Ewanrigg* in Cumberland, still possessed by that family."

We have seen that the Earl had in the island a considerable military force, and we know from other sources¹ that they lived in a great measure at free quarters. We have his own testimony for stating, that he achieved his objects by imprisoning, until his prisoners "*promised to be good*;" and successively filling their places with others, until they also *conformed to his theory of public virtue*. And the reader will be prepared to hear without surprise, that the same means enabled him, in 1645, to arrange a legislature² capable of yielding a forced assent to this notable system of submission and loving kindness.

This is perhaps the most convenient place for stating, that in the subsequent surrender of the Island to the troops of the Parliament, the only stipulation made by the Islanders was, "that they might enjoy their lands and liberties as they formerly had." In what manner this stipulation was performed, my notes do not enable me to state. The restoration of Charles II., propitious in other respects, inflicted on the Isle of Man the revival of its feudal government; and the affair of the tenures continued to be a theme of perpetual contest and unavailing complaint, until finally adjusted in 1703, through the mediation of the excellent Bishop Wilson, in a legislative compromise, known by the name of the Act of Settlement, whereby the people obtained a full recognition of their ancient rights, on condition of doubling the actual quit rents, and consenting to alienation fines, first exacted by the Earl James in 1643.³

In 1648, William Dhône was appointed Receiver General; and in the same year we find his elder brother, John (Assistant Deemster to his father Ewan), committed to Peel Castle on one of these occasions, which strongly marks the character

¹ Evidence on the mock trial of William Dhône.

² We shall see, by and by, a very simple method of packing a judicial and legislative body, by removing and replacing *seven individuals* by one and the same mandate.

³ Report of 1791, App. A. No. 71.

of the person and the times, and affords also a glimpse at the feeling of the people, and at the condition of the devoted family of Christian. The inquisitive will find it in a note;¹ other readers will pass on.

The circumstances are familiarly known, to the reader of English history, of the march of the Earl of Derby in 1651, with a corps from the Isle of Man for the service of the King; his joining the royal army on the eve of the battle of Worcester; his flight and imprisonment at Chester, after that signal defeat; and his trial and execution at Bolton in Lancashire by the officers of the Parliament, on the 15th October of that year.

Immediately afterwards, Colonel Duckenfield, who commanded at Chester on behalf of the Parliament, proceeded with an armament of ten ships, and a considerable military force, for the reduction of the Isle of Man.

William Christian was condemned and executed in 1662-3, for acts connected with its surrender, twelve years before, which are still involved in obscurity; and it will be most acceptable to the general reader that we should pass over the intermediate period,² and leave the facts regarding

¹ A person named Charles Vaughan is brought to lodge an information, that being in England, he fell into company with a young man named Christian, who said he had lately left the Isle of Man, and was in search of a brother, who was clerk to a Parliament Officer; that in answer to some questions, he said, "The Earl did use the inhabitants of that Isle very hardly; had estreated great fines from the inhabitants; had changed the ancient tenures; and forced them to take leases. That he had taken away one hundred pounds a year from his father, and had kept his uncle in prison four or five years. But if ever the Earl came to England (he had used the inhabitants so hardly), that he was sure they would never suffer him to land in that Island again." An order is given to imprison John Christian (probably the reputed head of the family, his father being advanced in years), in Peel Castle, until he entered into bonds to be of good behaviour, and *not to depart the Isle without license*.—(Insular Records.) The young man in question is said to have been the son of William Christian, of Knockrushen.

² Some readers may desire an outline of this period. The lordship of the

this individual, all of them extraordinary, and some of peculiar interest, to be developed by the record of the trial, and documents derived from other sources.

A mandate by Charles, 8th Earl of Derby, dated at Latham in September 1662, after descanting on the heinous sin of rebellion, "aggravated by its being instrumental¹ in the death of the Lord ; and stating that he is himself concerned to revenge a father's blood," orders William Christian to be proceeded against forthwith, for all his illegal actions at, before, or after, the year 1651 (a pretty sweeping range). The indictment charges him with "being the head of an insurrection against the countess of Derby in 1651, assuming the power unto himself, and depriving her Ladyship, his Lordship, and heirs thereof."

A series of depositions appear on record from the 3d to the 13th October, and a reference by the precious depositaries of justice of that day, to the twenty-four Keys.²

Island was given to Lord Fairfax, who deputed commissioners to regulate its affairs : one of them (Chaloner) published an account of the Island in 1656. He puts down William Christian as Receiver General in 1653. We find his name, as Governor, from 1656 to 1658 (Sacheverill, p. 101), in which year he was succeeded by Chaloner himself. Among the anomalies of those times, it would seem that he had retained the office of Receiver while officiating as Governor ; and episcopacy having been abolished, and the receipts of the see added to those of the exchequer, he had large accounts to settle, for which Chaloner sequestered his estates in his absence, and imprisoned and held to bail his brother John, for aiding what he calls his escape : his son George returned from England, by permission of Lord Fairfax, to settle his father's accounts. Chaloner informs us, that the revenues of the suppressed see were *not appropriated* to the private use of Lord Fairfax, who, "for the better encouragement and support of the Ministers of the Gospel and for the promoting of learning, hath conferred all this revenue upon the Ministers, and also for maintaining free schools, *i.e.* at Castletown, Peel, Douglass, and Ramsay." Chaloner pays a liberal tribute to the talents of the clergy, and the learning and piety of the late bishops.

¹ See the remark in Christian's dying speech, that the late Earl had been executed eight days before the insurrection.

² The court for criminal trials was composed of the governor and council

"Whether upon the examination taken and read before, you find Mr. W. Christian, of Ronaldsway, within compass of the Statute of the year 1422, that is to receive a sentence *without quest*, or to be tried in the ordinary course of law." This body, designated on the record "so many of the Keys as were then present," were in number seventeen; but not being yet sufficiently select to approve of *sentence without trial*, made their return, To be tried by course of law.

On the 26th November, it is recorded that the Governor and Attorney-General having proceeded to the gaol "with a guard of soldiers, to require him (Christian) to the bar to receive his trial, he refused, and denied to come, and abide the same—(admirable courtesy to invite, instead of bringing him to the bar)! Whereupon the Governor demanded the law of Deemster Norris, who then sat in judication. Deemster John Christian having not appeared, and Mr. Edward Christian,¹ his son, and assistant, having also *forborne to sit* in this Court, he the said Deemster Norris craved the advice and assistance of the twenty-four Keys; and the said Deemster and Keys deemed the law therein, to wit, that he is at the mercy of the Lord for life and goods.

It will be observed that seven of the Keys were formerly absent, on what account we shall presently see. All this was very cleverly arranged by the following recorded order, 29th December—" *These of the twenty-four Keys are removed of that Company, in reference to my Honourable Lord's order in that behalf;*" enumerating seven names, not of the

(including the Deemsters) and the Keys, who also, with the Lord, composed the three branches of the legislative body; and it was the practice in cases of doubt to refer points of customary law to the Deemsters and Keys.

¹ The grandson of *Evan*. It appears by the proceedings of the King in Council, 1663, that "he did, when the court refused to admit of the deceased William Christian's plea of the Act of Indemnity, make his protestation against their illegal proceedings, and did withdraw himself, and came to England to solicit his Majesty, and implore his justice."

seventeen before mentioned, and naming seven others who "are sworn¹ in their places." The judicature is farther improved by transferring an eighth individual of the first seventeen to the council, and filling his place with another proper person. These facts have been related with some minuteness of detail for two reasons : 1st. Although nearly equalled by some of the subsequent proceedings, they would not be credited on common authority ; and 2d. They render all comment unnecessary, and prepare the reader for any judgment, however extraordinary, to be expected from such a tribunal.

Then come the proceedings of the 29th December—The Proposals, as they are named, to the Deemsters,² and twenty-four Keys now assembled, "to be answered in point of law." "1st. Any malefactor, etc., being indicted, etc., and denying to abide the law of his country in that course (notwithstanding any argument or plea he may offer for himself), and thereupon deemed to forfeit body and goods, etc., whether he may afterwards obtain the same benefit, etc. etc.;" to which, on the same day, they answered in the negative. It was found practicable, on the 31st, to *bring* the prisoner to the bar, to hear his sentence of being "*shot to death, that thereupon his life may depart from his body,*" which sentence was executed on the 2d of January 1663.

That he made "an excellent speech" at the place of execution, is recorded, where we should little expect to find it, in the Parochial Register ; the accuracy of that which has been preserved as such in the family of a clergyman (and appears to have been printed on or before 1776³), rests chiefly

¹ The Commissioners of 1791 are in doubt regarding the time when, and the manner in which, the Keys were first elected : this notable precedent had perhaps not fallen under their observation.

² Hugh Cannel was now added as a second Deemster.

³ One of the copies in my possession is stated to be transcribed in that year from the printed speech, the other as stated in the text.

on internal evidence ; and on its accordance, in some material points, with facts suppressed or distorted in the Records, but established in the proceedings of the Privy Council. It is therefore given without abbreviation, and the material points of evidence in the voluminous depositions on both trials¹ are extracted for reference in a note.²

¹ Both trials : the first is for the same purposes as the English grand jury, with this most especial difference, that evidence is admitted *for the prisoner*, and it thus becomes what it is frequently called, the first trial ; the second, if the indictment be found, is in all respects like that by petty jury in England.

² This testimony will of course be received with due suspicion, and confronted with the only defence known, that of his dying speech. It goes to establish that Christian had placed himself at the head of an association bound by a secret oath, to "withstand the Lady of Derby in her designs until she had yielded or condescended to their aggrievances ;" among which grievances, during the Earl's residence, we find, incidentally noticed, "the troop that was in the Isle and their free quarterage ; that he had represented her ladyship to have deceived him, by entering into negotiations with the Parliament, contrary to her promise to communicate with him in such a case ; that Christian and his associates declared that she was about to sell them for twopence or threepence a piece ; that he told his associates that he had entered into correspondence with Major Fox and the Parliament, and received their authority to raise the country ; that in consequence of this insurrection her ladyship appointed commissioners to treat with others *on the part of the country*," and articles of agreement were concluded (see the speech) which nowhere now appear ; that on the appearance of Duckenfield's ships, standing for Ramsay Bay, one of the insurgents boarded them off Douglas, "to give intelligence of the condition of the country ;" that the disposable troops marched under the governor, Sir Philip Musgrave, for Ramsay ; that when the shipping had anchored, a deputation of three persons, *viz.*, John Christian, Ewan Curphey, and William Standish, proceeded on board, to negotiate for the surrender of the Island (where William was does not appear). The destruction of the articles of agreement, and the silence of the records regarding the relative strength of the forces, leave us without the means of determining the degree of merit or demerit to be ascribed to these negotiators, or the precise authority under which they acted ; but the grievances to be redressed, are cleared from every obscurity by the all-sufficient testimony of the terms demanded from the victors, "*that they might enjoy their lands and liberties as formerly they had* ; and that it was demanded whether they asked any more,

Edward Christian, the nephew, and George, the son of the deceased, lost no time in appealing to his Majesty in Council against this judicial murder ; and George was furnished with an order "to pass and repass," etc., "and bring with him such records and persons as he should desire, to make out the truth of his complaint." Edward returned with him to the Island for that purpose ; for we find him, in April 1663, compelled, in the true spirit of the day, to give bond "that he would at all times appear and answer to such charges as might be preferred against him, and *not depart the Isle without licence.*" George was prevented, by various contrivances, from serving the King's order ; but on presenting a second petition, the Governor, Deemster, and Members of Council, were brought up to London by a Serjeant at Arms ; and these six persons, together with the Earl of Derby, being compelled to appear, a

but nothing else was demanded that this examinant heard of." The taking of Loyal Fort near Ramsay (commanded by a Major Duckenfield, who was made prisoner) and of Peel Castle, appear on record ; but nothing could be found regarding the *surrender of Castle Rushen or of the Countess of Derby's subsequent imprisonment.* Had the often repeated tale of William Christian having "treacherously seized upon the lady and her children, with the governors of both castles, in the middle of the night"—(Rolt's *History of the Isle of Man*, published in 1773, p. 89)—rested on the slightest semblance of truth, we should inevitably have found an attempt to prove it in the proceedings of this mock trial. In the absence of authentic details, the tradition may be adverted to, that her ladyship, on learning the proceedings at Ramsay, hastened to embark in a vessel she had prepared, but was intercepted before she could reach it. The same uncertainty exists with regard to any negotiations on her part with the officers of the Parliament, as affirmed by the insurgents ; the Earl's first letter after his capture and before his trial, says, "Truly, as matters go, it will be best for you to make conditions for yourself, children, and friends, in the manner as we have proposed, or as you can further agree with Col. Duckenfield ; who being so much a gentleman born, will doubtless, for his own honour, deal fairly with you." He seems also to have hoped at that time that it might influence his own fate : and the eloquent and affecting letter written immediately before his execution, repeats the same admonitions to treat.—Rolt, pp. 74 and 84.

full hearing took place before the King in person, the Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Chief Baron, and other Members of Council; judgment was extended on the 5th August, and that judgment was on the 14th of the same month ordered "to be printed in folio, in such manner as Acts of Parliament are usually printed, and his Majesty's Arms prefixed."

This *authentic document* designates the persons brought up as "*Members of the pretended Court of Justice*;" declares "that the general Act of Pardon and Amnesty did extend to the Isle of Man, and ought to have been taken notice of by the Judges in that Island, *although it had not been pleaded*; that the Court *refused to admit* the deceased William Christian's *plea* of the Act of Indemnity," etc. "Full restitution is ordered to be made to his heirs of all his estates, real and personal." Three¹ other persons "who were by the same Court of Justice imprisoned, and their estates *seized and confiscated without any legal trial*," are ordered, together with the Christians, "to be restored to all their estates, real and personal, and to be fully repaired in all the charges and expenses which they have been at since their first imprisonment, as well in the prosecution of this business as in their journey hither, or in any other way thereunto relating." The mode of raising funds for the purposes of this restitution is equally peculiar and instructive: these "sums of money are ordered to be furnished by the Deemsters, Members, and Assistants of the said Court of Justice," who are directed "to raise and make due payment thereof to the parties."

"And to the end that the blood that has been unjustly spilt may in some sort be expiated," etc., the Deemsters are ordered to be committed to the King's Bench to be proceeded against, etc. etc., and receive condign punishment. [It is be-

¹ Ewan Curphey, Samuel Ratcliffe, and John Caesar, men of considerable landed property.

lieved that this part of the order was afterwards relaxed or rendered nugatory.] The three Members of Council were released on giving security to appear, if required, and to make the restitution ordered. "And in regard that Edward Christian, being one of the Deemsters or Judges in the Isle of Man, *did, when the Court refused to admit of the deceased W. Christian's plea of the Act of Indemnity, make his protestation against their illegal proceedings, and did withdraw himself, and come to England to solicit his Majesty and implore his justice,* It is ordered that the Earl of Derby do forthwith, by commission, etc., restore and appoint him as Deemster, so to remain and continue, etc. (which order was disobeyed). And lastly, that Henry Nowell, Deputy Governor, whose fault hath been *the not complying with, and yielding due obedience to the order¹ of his Majesty and this Board sent unto the Island*"—(O most lame and impotent conclusion!) "be permitted to return to the Isle, and enforce the present Order of the King in Council."

Of the Earl of Derby no farther mention occurs in this document. The sacrifices made by this noble family in support of the royal cause, drew a large share of indulgence over the exceptional parts of their conduct; but the mortification necessarily consequent on this appeal, the incessant complaints of the people, and the difficulty subsequently experienced by them in obtaining access to a superior tribunal, receive a curious illustration in an Order of the King in Council, dated 20th August 1670, on a petition of the Earl of Derby, "that the clerk of the Council in waiting receive no petition, appeal or complaint, *against the lord or government of the Isle of Man,* without having first good security from the complainant to answer costs, damages and charges."

¹ Tradition, in accordance with the dirge of William Dhône, says that the order to stop proceedings and suspend the sentence arrived on the day preceding that of his execution.

The historical notices of this kingdom¹ of Lilliput are curious and instructive with reference to other times and different circumstances, and they have seemed to require little comment or antiquarian remark ; but to condense what may be collected with regard to Edward Christian, the accomplished villain of *Peperil*, the insinuations of his accuser² constitute in themselves an abundant defence. When so little can be imputed by such an adversary, the character must indeed be invulnerable. Tradition ascribes to him nothing but what is amiable, patriotic, honourable and good, in all the relations of public and private life. He died, after an imprisonment of seven or eight years, the victim of incorrigible obstinacy according to one, of ruthless tyranny, according to another vocabulary ; but resembling the character of the Novel in nothing but unconquerable courage.

Treachery and ingratitude have been heaped on the memory of William Christian with sufficient profusion. Regarding the first of these crimes : if all that has been affirmed or insinuated in the mock trial, rested on a less questionable basis, posterity would scarcely pronounce an unanimous verdict, of moral and political guilt, against an association to subvert such a government as is described by its own author. The *peculiar* favours for which he or his family were ungrateful, are not to be discovered in these proceedings ; except, indeed, in the form of "chastisements of the Almighty—blessings in disguise." But if credit be given to the dying words of William Christian, his efforts were strictly limited to a redress of grievances,—a purpose always criminal in the eye of the oppressor. If he had lived and died on a larger scene, his memory would probably have survived among the patriots

¹ Earl James, although studious of kingcraft, assigns good reasons for having never pretended to assume that title, and among others, "Nor doth it please a king that any of his subjects should too much love that name, were it but to act in a play."—Peck, 436.

² Peck, *passim*.

and the heroes. In some of the manuscript narratives he is designated as a *martyr* for the rights and liberties of his countrymen ; who add, in their homely manner, that he was condemned without trial, and murdered without remorse.

We have purposely abstained from all attempt to enlist the passions in favour of the sufferings of a people, or in detestation of oppressions, which ought, perhaps, to be ascribed as much to the character of the times as to that of individuals. The naked facts of the case (unaided by the wild and plaintive notes in which the maidens of the isle were wont to bewail "*the heart rending death of brown-haired William*¹)," are sufficient of themselves to awaken the sympathy of every generous mind ; and it were a more worthy exercise of that despotic power over the imagination, so eminently possessed by the "Great Unknown," to embalm the remembrance of two such men in his immortal pages, than to load their memories with crimes, such as no human being ever committed.

¹ The literal translation given to me by a young lady.



No. XXXII.

COMMISSION from the EARL of DERBY to his COUNTESS
to act for him during his absence from the Island.

From the Rolls Office.

James, Earle of Derby, Viscount Kinton, Lord Stanley
and Strange of Knockinge, Lacy, Moughune, Bassett
and Burnell, Lord of Mann and th' isles, and of the
most noble Order of the Garter Knight, &c. &c.

To all people to whome theise presents shall come.

Knowe yee that upon the espetiall trust and confidence
which I, the saide Earle, have and repose in the knowne
wisdom and courage of you Dame Charlotte de la Tremoille,
my dear and welbeloved wife, have thought good (espetiallie
in theise dangerous tymes), for the better saftie of this Isle
and countrey, and of my castles, ffourtes, and garrisons therein,
to nominate and appointe, and I doe hereby nominate and
appointe you in my place and steade (being readie by God's
assistance to advance with my ffoces for England upon his
Matie's service), to order and dispose of all and everie the
ffoces of this Island, and the officers and soldiers thereof of
what degree whatsoever, as to your wisdom shall bee thought
meete: Willinge and comandinge all officers in commission
or otherwise to bee obeyinge, aidinge, and assistinge to you
upon your comande, and upon anie your dislike or dis-
pleasure on iudicious cause found against any of them, to
displace and discharde such like officer and officers, soldier

and soldiers, from the exercise of their further duties in this Islande, notwithstandinge anie my further comission or comissions given or granted to them or anie of them, and new officer and officers, soldier and soldiers (at your good likinge), from tyme to tyme to make and ordaine by comission under your hand and seale of armes, or otherwise, in as full and ample maner to all intents and purposes as I in my owne p'son might, could, or should make and ordaine the same. Moreover I doe hereby give you power uppon occasion of invasion, rebellion, or the like, to raise anie army or armyes by your selfe or by your officers, and them to continue in order (or otherwise), soe longe and in what place or places you shall thinke meet ; and with power to kill, imprison, or otherwise to punish enemies accordinge to your good discretion, and power likewise to p'don and forgive all such of them whome you thinke worthie of itt. Ffarther alsoe I doe hereby give you full power and authoritie (in my absence) to dispose of, place, or displace all officers of this Island, spirituall or temporall ; and free p'don of liffe, member, and goodes to all dellinquents (after judgment given) to give and grant at your will and pleasure under your hand and seale or otherwise. Given under my hand and seale of armes, at Castle Rushen, the sixth day of August, in the third yeare of his Mag^{tie's} raigne over Great Brittain, &c., and Ano. Dni. one thousand six hundred fiftie-one, 1651.

J. DERBY.



No. XXXIII.

ILLIAM DHÔNE.

This ballad, on the death of Receiver-General Christian, has already been printed in the Manx Society's Series, Vol. XVI., both in Manx and English. It is, however, considered that the latter version should be here given, as it is so pointedly alluded to in the "Historical Notices of Edward and William Christian," in Document No. XXXI.

It was translated from an old Manx Version by the Rev. John Crellin, Vicar of Kirk Michael in 1774. The ballad was composed some time after the execution of William Christian, and is a prophecy of what would befall the families who were concerned in his death. The author's name has not come down to us.

ILLIAM DHÔNE.

I.

In so shifting a scene who would confidence place
In family, youth, pow'r, or personal grace ?
No character's proof against enmity foul ;
And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

II.

You were Derby's Receiver of patriot zeal,
Replete with good sense, and reputed genteel :
Your justice applauded by the young and the old ;
And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

III.

A kind able patriot both to church and to state,
 What rous'd their resentment but talents so great ?
 No character's proof against enmity foul ;
 And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

IV.

Unequalled thy villa in woodlands and springs,
 Thy garden like Eden, thy house like a king's,
 No character's proof against enmity foul ;
 And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

V.

Thy pardon, 'tis rumour'd came over the main,
 Nor late, but conceal'd by a villain in grain :
 'Twas fear forc'd the jury to sentence so foul ;
 And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

VI.

Triumphant stood Colquitt,¹ he wished for no more,
 When the pride of the Christians lay welt'ring in gore—
 To malice a victim, tho' manly and bold ;
 And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

VII.

With adultery stain'd, and polluted with gore,
 He Ronaldsway ey'd, as Lough Molly before ;
 'Twas land sought the culprit, like Ahab of old ;
 And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

VIII.

Proceed to the once fam'd abode of the nuns,
 Call the Colquitts aloud till you torture your lungs ;

¹ Calcot of Ballalough, near Castletown. Some of the Calcots were of Ballalough, others of the Nunnery.

Their short triumph's ended, extinct are the whole ;
And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

IX.

For years cruel Robert lay crippled in bed,
Nor knew the world's peace whilst he held up his head,
The neighbourhood's scourge, in iniquity old ;
And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

X.

Not one's heard to grieve, seek the country all through,
Or lament for the name Bemaccan¹ once knew ;
The poor rather load it with curses untold ;
And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

XI.

Ballalough and the Creggans mark strongly their sin,
Not a soul of the name's there to welcome you in ;
In the power of the strangers is entered the whole ;
And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

XII.

The opulent Scarlet,² on which the sea flows,
Is peacemeal disposed of, to whom the Lord knows ;
Its heirs without bread, or defence from the cold ;
And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

XIII.

They assert then in vain that the law sought thy blood,
For all aiding the massacre never did good ;
Like the rooted-up golding deprived of its mould,
They languish'd, were blasted, grew rotten and cold.

¹ Tyldesley of the Friary.

² Norris of Scarlet.

XIV.

Where the shoots of a tree so corrupted remain,
Like the briar or thistle, they goad us with pain ;
Deep, dark, undermining, they mimic the mole ;
And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

XV.

Round the infamous wretches who spilt Christian's blood,—
Dread spectres and conscience in sad array stood ;
Not a man of the whole reach'd life's utmost goal ;
And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

XVI.

Perdition, too, seized them who caused thee to bleed ;
To decay fell their houses, their lands, and their seed,
Disappear'd, like a vapour when morn's flush'd with gold ;
And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

XVII.

From grief, all corroding, to hope I'll repair,
That a branch of the Christians will soon grace the chair,
With royal instructions, his foes to control ;
And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

XVIII.

With a rock for my pillow, I dreamt, as I lay,
That a branch of the Christians would hold Ronaldsway ;
His conquest his topic with friends o'er a bowl ;
And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.

XIX.

And now for a wish, at concluding my song,
May the Almighty withhold us from doing what's wrong,
Protect every mortal from enmity foul ;
And thy fate, Illiam Dhône, sickens my soul.



No. XXXIV.

OFFICIALS in the ISLE of MAN, 1645-1663.

James, 7th Earl of Derby. Lord of the Isle, 1637-1651.
Charlotte, Countess of Derby. Left Deputy in 1651.
John Greenhalgh. Governor, 1640 to Sept. 1651.
Ewan Christian. Deemster, 1645.
John Cannell. Deemster, 1645.
John Sharples. Comptroller, 1645-1651.
William Smith. Receiver, 1645.
Sir Philip Musgrave, Bart. Governor, Sept. 1651.
Col. Robt. Duckenfield. Governor, 1651.
Samuel Smith. Deputy Governor, 1652.
Lord Fairfax. Lord of the Isle, 1651.
Samuel Rutter. Archdeacon, 1651.
Samuel Rutter. Bishop, 1661.
William Christian. Receiver, 1648-1651, and Commander
of the Insular Infantry, 1651.
H. Qualtrough. Deemster, 1651.
Major Woods. Commander of Peel Castle, 1651.
Sir Thomas Armstrong. Commander of Castle Rushen,
1651.
Capt. Ingram. Commander of Ramsey Fort, 1651.
Major Thomas Stanley. Commander of Loyal Fort, 1651.
Major Duckenfield. Commander of a Troop at Bishops
Court, 1651.
Matthew Cadwell. Governor, 1653.
William Christian. Governor, 1656.

James Chaloner. Governor, 1659.
Rodger Nowell. Governor, 1660.
Richard Stephenson. Deputy Governor, 1660.
John Christian. Deemster, 1660.
Thomas Norris. Deemster, 1660.
Hugh Cannell. Attorney-General, 1660 ; and Deemster,
1662.
Richard Tyldesley. Clerk of the Rolls, 1660.
Henry Nowell. Captain of Castle Rushen. 1660.
Henry Nowell. Deputy Governor, 1663.
Richard Calcott. Water Bailiff, 1660.
Robert Calcott. Commander of Castle Rushen and
Douglas Fort, 1660.
Edward Christian. Deemster, 1663.
Ferdinando Calcott. Steward, 1663.



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FOR THE

PUBLICATION OF NATIONAL DOCUMENTS.

RULES.

1. That the affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, to meet on the first Tuesday in every month, and to consist of not more than twenty-four members, of whom three shall form a quorum, and that the President, Vice-Presidents, the Hon. Secretary, and Treasurer shall be considered *ex officio* members. The Council may appoint two acting Committees, one for Finance and the other for publication.

2. That a Subscription of One Pound annually, paid in advance, on or before the day of annual meeting, shall constitute Membership ; and that every member not in arrear of his annual subscription be entitled to a copy of every publication issued by the Society. That no member incur any pecuniary liability beyond his annual subscription.

3. That the Accounts of Receipts and Expenditure be examined annually by two Auditors appointed at the annual meeting, on the 1st of May in each year.

4. That six Copies of his work be allowed to the Editor of the same, in addition to the one he is entitled to as a member.

5. That no Rule shall be made or altered except at a General Meeting, after due notice of the proposed alteration has been given as the Council shall direct. The Council shall have the power of calling Extraordinary Meetings.

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